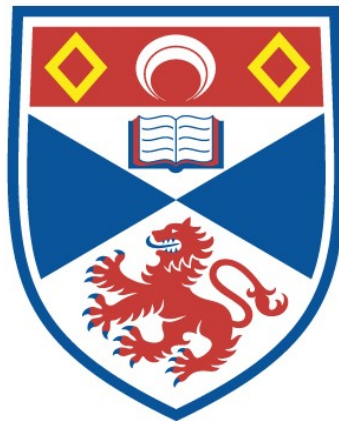


SCOTTISH DOCUMENTARY PHOTOGRAPHY AND THE ARCHIVE:
GEORGE M. COWIE, FRANKI RAFFLES AND DOCUMENT
SCOTLAND IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS
PHOTOGRAPHIC COLLECTION

Lydia Isabel Heeley

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of MPhil
at the
University of St Andrews



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**Scottish Documentary Photography and the Archive: George M.
Cowie, Franki Raffles and Document Scotland in the University
of St Andrews Photographic Collection**



University of
St Andrews

Lydia Isabel Heeley

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of

Master of Philosophy (MPhil)

at the University of St Andrews

March 2019

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Abstract

Scottish documentary photography has a significant historical connection with St Andrews. The St Andrews Photographic Collection upholds this link by preserving historic and contemporary collections. This thesis investigates how the collection's acquisitions of photographic work place the photographer within the tradition of Scottish documentary photography. Three case studies are examined, the George M. Cowie collection of photojournalism, the Franki Raffles collection, and the collection of the photographic collective, Document Scotland. The way in which the archive preserves and promotes this material are examined in a number of ways. Firstly, how the organisation of the material affects the sense of the photographers' working practice and authorship of the material. Secondly, how the materiality of the collections is used in a way that further informs the photographers' body of work. Thirdly, how the archive's presentation of this material can be utilised by researchers and institutions to promote and re-interpret this work. Finally, these aspects are considered in terms of positioning the discussed photographers within the legacy of Scottish documentary photography.

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Introduction

Documentary photography in Scotland has a rich history that is associated with the medium since its earliest forms. The history of photography is shaped by important Scottish figures who made significant advancements in the technology of the medium, as well as contributing to the documentation of the history and progression of Scotland as a country. Part of this history has centred around the town of St Andrews, a place in which the early chemical advancements of the medium by its residents contributed to the evolution of photographic technologies. The University of St Andrews acknowledges this significance in Scottish photography history through its vast photographic collection. The St Andrews Photographic Collection holds an vast number of photographic objects, forming a collection that is ‘worthy of a town that played a remarkably central role in the early years of photography.’¹ The collection contains a variety of work by influential Scottish photographers and is continuing to build on this Scottish photography tradition by including contemporary photographers currently working in Scotland.

As Enwezor suggests, ‘the standard view of the archive oftentimes evokes a dim, musty place full of drawers, filing cabinets, and shelves laden with old documents, an inert repository of historical artifacts against the archive as an active, regulatory discursive system.’² The vast photographic archive of the University of St Andrews should be seen as an active resource for research and display, featuring a variety of subjects related to Scotland

¹ Martin Kemp and Diana Sykes, *Mood of the Moment: Masterworks of Photography from the University of St Andrews* (Perth: Woods of Perth (Printers) Ltd, 1994) 2.

² Okwui Enwezor, *Archive Fever: Uses of the Document in Contemporary Art* (New York and Göttingen, Germany: International Centre for Photography and Steidl Publishers, 2008) 11.

and the wider practices of photography. Schwartz states that ‘like the documents they preserve, archives have been created by a will, for a purpose, to convey a message to an audience. As a complex of institutional practices, they acquire meaning in society within the context of their creation.’³ In this case, the archive has formed a collection that preserves and promotes Scottish photography from its creation to modern practices, gaining further context by being held in the historic town of St Andrews. This archive presents a unique and vital collection of Scottish photography which informs the history of photography itself.

Photography’s various forms comprise a rich and fascinating range of materials. Tending to the needs of each photographic object, ranging from nineteenth century calotypes to twenty-first century digital files, requires careful consideration towards each object. This consideration extends to the creators of the objects - the photographer themselves. An archive holding a photographer’s work assigns a certain significance to the images. In the context of St Andrews, this collection gives special importance to Scottish photographers or content related to Scotland, drawing from the town’s photographic history and the collection’s pre-existing strengths in this area. The photographs held by the archive are ‘both images *and* physical objects that exist in time and space and thus in social and cultural experience’;⁴ the archive both promotes the images and preserves the physical photographs, drawing from Scotland’s social history to solidify connections to the traditions of Scottish photography.

³ Joan M. Schwartz, “‘We make our tools and our tools make us’: Lessons from Photographs for the Practice, Politics and Poetics of Diplomats,” *Archivaria*, 40 (1995): 62.

⁴ Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart, “Introduction: photographs as objects,” in *Photographs, Objects, Histories: On the Materiality of Images*, eds. Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart (London: Routledge, 2004) 1.

This raises the question of how the archive's handling of a collection affects the status of the photographer, and how the archive promotes such work. What is the role of the archive in the positioning of a photographer and their work within the legacy of Scottish documentary photography? In the case of the St Andrews collection, the archive is built upon the rich photographic history associated with the town and the university, suggesting a significant connection to each photographer's work held in the collection. The ways in which an archive preserves its material is not only important due to the accessibility of such collections, but in the conservation of historic and contemporary photographic works for future generations. Each body of work that is acquired ensures that a photographer's work will be conserved, assigning a sense of significance to it and placing it in a hierarchy within the archive, if not in a hierarchy of photographic history itself. The St Andrews Photographic Collection draws upon the tradition of Scottish photography to collate photographic works from many time periods into the archive, bringing with it both practical and theoretical issues. This thesis will examine these issues, focusing on the preservation and promotion of photographic collection materials as a path to the placement of each photographer's contribution to the legacy of Scottish documentary photography.

Collection History

The St Andrews Photographic Collection holds a vast and significant collection of photographs that are vital to the medium's initial development and to contemporary practices of the medium. The collection's mandate states that it aims to 'build upon the collection's strengths in the areas representing Scottish content and relevant works by Scottish photographers. The main themes of the collection being: cultural history and transformation,

topography, and early photographic history.’⁵ As such, the collection includes a large number of images created in Scotland and work by Scottish photographers. In a large photographic collection such as this, one of the ‘great strengths of the St Andrews University Library Photographic Archive is that it contains several very large or complete collections.’⁶ This provides a body of extremely rich research material, as well as tracking the progression of the medium in terms of style and technical advancements. The collection offers an in-depth view of many aspects of Scottish photography, building on the town’s historic link to the medium.

The roots of the collection were formed at the very beginning of photographic history. When William Henry Fox Talbot announced his paper-negative process in 1839, he was in regular communication with Sir David Brewster, Principal of the United College of St Andrews at the time.⁷ Brewster encouraged the practice of Talbot’s technique within a circle of amateur scientists-turned-photographers based in the university town, leading to a period of experimentation that ensured that ‘St Andrews was at the forefront of the continuing refinement and development of photography.’⁸ Brewster’s passion for the medium can be said to be the basis of the University’s photography collection, as he ensured that important early photographic albums such as Talbot’s *The Pencil of Nature*, were acquired by the

⁵ St Andrews Photographic Collection, “Photographic Collection Mandate,” accessed 4/10/17.
<https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/imu/imu.php?request=browse&irn=93>.

⁶ Bruce Pert, *Mood of the Moment: Masterworks of Photography from the University of St Andrews* (Perth: Woods of Perth (Printers) Ltd, 1994) 4.

⁷ Anne Lyden, *A Perfect Chemistry* (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 2017) 52.

⁸ Norman Reid, “St Andrews – A Hotbed of Photography,” in *Northern Light: Photographs by David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson from the University of St Andrews*, eds. Norman Reid, Graham Smith and Stephanie Wiles (Middleton CT: Davidson Art Centre, 2003) 17.

University Library.⁹ This relationship between the inventor of what would evolve to become the foundation of modern photography and influential members of the St Andrews community established the beginnings of a lasting affiliation between Scotland and photography.

Building on Brewster's acquisitions over a century beforehand, the University Library began to formally collect photography in the 1970s,¹⁰ acknowledging the University's important role in photographic history. The University of St Andrews Photographic Collection preserves this link with early photography, whilst expanding the archive to include many other aspects of Scottish photography. The collection numbers 'in excess of 800,000 photographs, existing in a wide variety of formats, including negatives on glass and film of varying sizes, lantern slides, prints ranging in vintage from salt paper to modern processes, postcards and transparencies.'¹¹ This archive material is available to any who wish to use it, be it for personal or professional research, and is accessible physically through appointments at the university library's reading room. The reach of the archives is further expanded through the digitisation of the collection, allowing the treasures of the St Andrews collection to be visible worldwide. The St Andrews Photographic Collection has been accessed internationally through loans to other institutions to put together exhibitions, displays and publications, such as contributing to an important exhibition at Tokyo Photographic Art

⁹ Reid, "St Andrews – A Hotbed of Photography," 20.

¹⁰ St Andrews Photographic Collection, "About Our Collections," accessed 4/10/17. <https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/imu/imu.php?request=browse&irn=21>.

¹¹ Ibid.

Museum this spring, showcasing a large amount of early British photography alongside institutions such as the Victoria & Albert Museum and The British Library.¹²

According to the Collection mandate, the role of the archive is ‘to provide a community resource for research and discovery, and to contribute actively to the sharing and interpretation of the collection’s content for the benefit of the public.’¹³ Through the University’s own efforts of digitisation, exhibitions and loans to other institutions, the Photographic Collection of St Andrews and the importance of the town’s influence on photography can be visible across the globe. How does the accessibility of such a rich archive affect the presentation of the photographer’s material kept within such an important collection? The preservation of a photographer’s work places that photographer in a certain context within the archive, and the display of such work further positions their work within a broader history of Scottish photography. These issues concerning the practicalities of the archive and the materiality of a photographer’s work within it will also be explored throughout this thesis.

Documentary

Much of the material within the collection falls under the category of ‘documentary photography’,¹⁴ creating images tracking cultural changes, social issues and records of the people and places of the past. As Price states, ‘documentary has been described as a form, a

¹² See the Tokyo Photographic Art Museum’s website:

<https://topmuseum.jp/e/contents/exhibition/index-3111.html>

¹³ St Andrews Photographic Collection, “Photographic Collection Mandate.”

¹⁴ The intention of this thesis is not to define ‘documentary,’ but to discuss photographs within the collection that could be classed as such due to their social and cultural significance in Scotland.

genre, a tradition, a style, a movement and a practice; it is not useful to try to offer a single definition of the word.’¹⁵ Within the discourses of documentary photography, this thesis does not aim to discuss documentary as a single practice, rather to focus on the documentation of historic and contemporary social topics in photography. In the St Andrews archive’s case, the collection states that it ‘provides an extensive cross-disciplinary primary resource, documenting the socio-cultural transformation of Scotland and beyond from the 1840s onward,’¹⁶ preserving historic and contemporary collections for the future. Returning to photography’s roots in Scotland and St Andrews itself, this aspect of the collection can be linked to the practices of early pioneers of photography in the town - specifically the Adamson brothers, and Robert Adamson’s collaborations with David Octavius Hill. John and Robert Adamson, being in the ‘Brewster circle’ of St Andrews, both excelled in the medium of photography; John Adamson was the first person to successfully make a calotype in Scotland, and Robert Adamson was the first professional calotypist in Edinburgh.¹⁷ Robert Adamson’s partnership with the painter David Octavius Hill ‘not only altered the course of Scottish photography, but that of the history of photography around the world.’¹⁸ Documenting the surroundings of the town of St Andrews and areas of Edinburgh, Hill & Adamson’s early photographs of fishing communities are ‘arguably among the first examples

¹⁵ Derrick Price, “Surveyors and Surveyed: Photography out and about,” in *Photography: A Critical Introduction*, ed. Liz Wells (Routledge, Abingdon, Oxon and New York, NY, 2015) 79.

¹⁶ St Andrews Photographic Collection, “About Our Collections.”

¹⁷ Graham Smith, ““Calotype Views of St Andrews” by David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson,” *History of Photography*, 7, no. 3. (1989): 211.

¹⁸ Lyden, *A Perfect Chemistry*, 11.

of social documentary in the history of photography,¹⁹ creating a basis for a documentary concern in the medium from photography's beginnings in Scotland.

In an album created by the duo in 1846, *A Series of Calotype Views of St Andrews*, Hill & Adamson include a scene taken in North Street, St Andrews. John Adamson had previously written on the 'insalubrious conditions that prevailed in certain sections of the town, most notably in the fisher quarter at the east end of North Street.'²⁰ Hill & Adamson's photograph of this area (fig. I.1) taken around 1845, shows a group of women outside houses on North Street, posed in a way that gives a sense of bustling movement as the fisherwomen go about their work, with some alongside their young children. A woman strides down the centre of the frame with a child on her hip and a basket in her hand, creating a sense of purpose and industry.

Although John Adamson condemns the squalor and depravity of the fishing community,²¹ this image conveys a peaceful and congenial working community. This could suggest that Hill & Adamson wished to portray the communities in a positive, industrious light. Conversely, it could be an example of what Rosler describes as a documentary photograph that 'carries (old) information about a group of powerless people to another group addressed

¹⁹ Anne Lyden, "A Perfect Chemistry: Photographs by Hill and Adamson," accessed 10/10/17. <https://www.nationalgalleries.org/exhibition/perfect-chemistry-photographs-hill-and-adamson>.

²⁰ Graham Smith (2003) 'Imagination and the Genius of Antiquity at St Andrews' in *Northern Light: Photographs by David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson from the University of St Andrews*, eds. Norman Reid, Graham Smith and Stephanie Wiles (Middleton CT: Davidson Art Centre, 2003) 30.

²¹ Ibid.

as socially powerful,²² using photography to highlight impoverished communities. Either way, the documentation of this group, along with the series of Edinburgh photographs documenting the Newhaven fishing community, have become an important social document of a specific social group of that time, leading to arguments that Hill & Adamson's work can be seen as the first of its kind of this photographic genre. The photographs created of the fishing community at this time are 'part of a distinct cultural climate,'²³ which lend the images to the social and cultural history that the St Andrews Special Collection aims to build on within its photographic archives.

This connection to St Andrews at the early stages of documentary photography has had a lasting influence in Scottish photography. In this field of photography there 'exists within the documentary aesthetic a humanist and progressive impulse that echoes the democratic, and democratising, sensibility of Scottish political and cultural life.'²⁴ The traditions set by early practitioners such as Hill & Adamson generate an appreciation of social and cultural photographic documents that is a theme in much of Scottish photography. Progressing to contemporary photography, Price suggests it is useful to think of documentary 'in terms of its connection with particular kinds of social investigation.'²⁵ The photographers discussed here will be those considered as social documentarists, creating photographic work concerning the social issues and changes in Scotland during their respective time periods. Drawing on the

²² Martha Rosler, "In, Around, and Afterthoughts (On documentary photography)," in *3 Works*, ed. Martha Rosler (Halifax, Nova Scotia: The Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 2006) 75.

²³ Lyden, *A Perfect Chemistry*, 89.

²⁴ Tom Normand, *Scottish Photography: A History* (Edinburgh: Luath Press Ltd, 2007) 93.

²⁵ Price, "Surveyors and Surveyed: Photography out and about," 79.

tradition of Scottish documentary images and the heritage of the St Andrews archive, the placement of these photographers is further emphasised in this history, prompting questions of the importance of Scottish documentary photography within the archive and the uses of promoting such work either retrospectively or in the context of modern times.

Case Studies

Of the large number of photographers represented in the St Andrews archive, three will be the subject of case studies examined here, all of whom have made an important contribution to the tradition of Scottish documentary photography. The three collections constitute large parts of the St Andrews archive, and yet have presently been understudied. The aim of this thesis is to highlight their work, discuss their photographic practice, and explore the significance of their photography being held by the St Andrews Photographic Collection.

George Middlemass Cowie, a photojournalist working in St Andrews from 1930 to 1982 has around sixty-thousand objects in the collection, forming a large body of work of documentary photographs depicting St Andrews life through five decades, thereby creating an extensive social document of the area. Cowie's work is significant due to his long career as a press photographer in the town, raising issues of how to interpret journalistic photography when presented in a large body of work, separated from its original press purposes. In archive management terms, these photographs are interesting due to the archives maintenance of an ordering system used by Cowie himself, giving the collection the task of using both its own cataloguing systems as well as Cowie's, raising issues of authorship within archive collections. A large amount of this material is on glass plate negatives, which brings with it certain storage and conservation issues within the archive. Due to the large number of negatives, Cowie's material also poses a large digitisation task, affecting what aspects of the

collection are currently available. These various issues make this body of work a challenge in terms of archival management and preservation, as well as the issue of representing Cowie as a press photographer retaining authorship of his press photographs. As the Cowie collection takes up a large part of the St Andrews collection, Cowie's place in the tradition of Scottish documentary photography is worthy of investigation within this history.

Franki Raffles created documentary work in a short period of time before her sudden death in 1994. Her work includes a significant exploration of women working in Scotland during her short photographic career. Due to her untimely death, her body of work entered the archive in a disorganised state. This material consists of around ninety thousand images, creating an enormous task to catalogue and digitise the work starting from its original state. Much of this includes Raffles' negatives, giving the collection the richness of having her original material as well as bringing with it issues of conservation and how to properly use such photographic objects. The collection also includes a large amount of non-photographic material, such as notes, diaries, statistics and other supplementary material related to her projects, which reveal information on her photographic practices and thought processes. As a result, this collection poses issues of materiality within photography collections, and how archives deal with varied collection material. This aspect of materiality provides a rich study of Raffles' working practice, as well as providing a valuable resource when displaying Raffles' body of work. Aspects of this will be discussed in relation to an exhibition of Raffles' photographs held by the Glasgow School of Art in 2017, exploring the issue of loaning and displaying this range of collection material. Raffles' significant feminist body of work has been largely undiscovered due to her early death, but her short photographic career deserves to be discussed in terms of this Scottish vein of documentary photography.

Document Scotland, a collective of five photographers currently creating work in Scotland, formed to record events taking place before the Scottish Independence Referendum in 2014. Realising the importance of this work to Scottish culture and society, the collective continues to create photographic work in Scotland. The inclusion of their work in the St Andrews archive is significant due to the fact that they are current practising photographers, contributing work to the collection in an ongoing collaboration. This is also significant in terms of the physical material, as much of the work is given to the archive in digital formats, raising issues of how modern archives deal with digital photography. As this material is already digitised, this presents issues of how such digital collection material is preserved in the fast-moving world of technology, and how archives adjust to this changing environment. The distribution, display and accessibility of digital photographs are also a key concern with this collection. The benefits and versatility of digital material is also discussed, as well as the advantage of digital files allowing the archive to acquire new work from the collective. The significance of contemporary photographers collaborating with a photographic archive in this way presents a modern way means by which archives can engage with digital media. Their inclusion in the archive creates a discussion point of the collaboration between photographers and archives.

These photographers will be examined in order to discuss their place in Scottish photography and the significance of their contribution to this field. Their importance as part of the St Andrews Photographic Collection, as well as the practicalities and archival issues that each collection raises, will also be examined. The preservation, promotion and display of such Scottish photographic collections is important to the University's collection and to the relevance of Scottish photography, and to the larger history of photography itself. The St Andrews Photographic Collection and the photographers discussed play a large part in

promoting this photographic heritage, innovation and continuing creativity. The tradition of Scottish photography forms a vital area of social documentary, covering a range of historic events, social issues and reformations that have contributed to the shaping of Scotland as a nation. The photographers discussed have all played parts in this tradition; the St Andrews collection enables the preservation, promotion and access needed to explore this creative area of photography and places these photographers within this rich historical context.

The George M. Cowie Collection: St Andrews Photojournalism

Introduction

George Middlemass Cowie worked as a photographer in St Andrews from the 1930s until his death in 1982. Trading as a freelance press photographer, Cowie produced a vast range of work documenting everyday life and events in St Andrews and the surrounding area of Fife, from local events to golf championships. Robert Smart, St Andrews University's Keeper of Manuscripts and Muniments from 1974 to 1995, states that 'due to St Andrews' importance as a centre of both recreation and higher learning, Cowie's photographs provide a matchless insight into everyday life of a community, whilst steeped in the context of international events and the people who would shape them.'²⁶ The Cowie collection is notable as a large body of work containing images that document the town of St Andrews over five decades.

Cowie began his photographic career after becoming 'disillusioned with joinery and then gardening',²⁷ and being persuaded by his childhood friend Beatrice Govan to take up press photography. After marrying in June 1930, Cowie and Govan moved to St Andrews a year later to set up a photography business, continuing to work in St Andrews until 1981.²⁸ The business ranged from studio photography to selling photographs of golf and local events to the press. In his early career, Cowie's photographs of St Andrews and Fife supplied most of the national daily newspapers, whilst later his images were used by the local press.²⁹ Govan

²⁶ Robert Smart, "War and Peace: George M. Cowie, Gas Mask Fitting, St Andrews, 1939." In *Treasures of St Andrews Library*, ed. Marc Boulay (London: Profile Books Limited, 2010) 126.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

worked as a darkroom technician for Cowie, handling the processing and printing of his photographs and maintaining the studio and retail side of the business.³⁰ Little is known about the business other than this, as no personal records nor documentation were with the collection when the archive acquired the photographic material. The collection contains topographical views and local events, as well as a unique collection of golfing photographs. The archive also holds work collected by Cowie, such as the John Hardie Wilson Lantern Slide collection of views of St Andrews photographed between 1874 and 1920, and photographs of St Andrews made by Cowie's son, Andrew Govan Cowie. The large scale of George Cowie's own photographic body of work alongside his own collection of photographs exemplifies his engagement with the town and provides a comprehensive document of St Andrews within this collection.

As the Cowie collection contains over sixty thousand images from his long photographic career, it is one of the largest photographic collections in the St Andrews University archive. Many of Cowie's negatives are gelatin dry plate negatives on glass, which require specific conservation and takes up a great amount of physical space within the archive. Other material includes lantern slides, film negatives and prints. This diverse range of photographic material brings with it issues of preserving each type of negative or print, as well as creating an enormous digitisation project. Most of the available digitised photographs are from the large collection of golf photography, as it is in the most demand. Also available are images of significant events at the university and topographical subjects, as requested by researchers. As in the case of many archives, the digitisation of such a vast photographic collection is an

³⁰ St Andrews Photographic Collection, "George M Cowie St Andrews Photojournalism Collection," accessed 19/01/19. <https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/imu/imu.php?request=browse&irn=1698>.

ongoing task, which is being addressed in the early twenty-first century, long after its acquisition by the St Andrews Photographic Collection in the 1980s.

Cowie's work provides an historical record of St Andrews, promoting the university, the town's association with golf, and everyday life in the town. Despite being such a large part of the archive, the Cowie collection has remained largely under-studied. Cowie's role as a press photographer could be seen to separate his work from that of other documentary photographers. However, Cowie's photojournalism is a photographic documentation of significant events, and will be discussed as such.³¹ As Normand argues, this 'unselfconscious, commercial, work-a-day form of reportage carries within it a world of meaningful discourse, for the archives of Scotland's newspapers are replete with the modern history of the nation.'³² Cowie contributes to this field of documentary photography by providing a rich and varied record of historic events and local communities through his work in St Andrews. However, this body of work raises questions of how the archive deals with such photography, and how it is engaged with in the century following its creation.

Cowie's documentary practice and his relationship to the archive raise further questions about his collection associated with documentary traditions and the historiography of Scottish photography. Cowie's photographs stand alone as isolated images in the archive, which removes them from the press origins many of them were created for. Whilst still seen as

³¹ For the purpose of this thesis, my aim is not to define the 'press photographer' or the 'documentary photographer', but rather to discuss this photographer's work as documentary images within the context of their creation and dispersion, whilst acknowledging the previously discussed difficulties of categorising documentary photography itself.

³² Normand, *Scottish Photography: A History*, 128.

documentary images, Cowie's profession meant that his photographs were dispersed around the country in different publications and presentations. How does this removal of context affect the way in which the material is now used, or how it should be understood? Today, the Cowie collection can be seen by modern viewers as important historically, socially, and as an example of documentary photography in the twentieth century. The issue is how to reconcile these photographic objects with their original uses in the national and daily press. The significance of the St Andrews University archive acquisition of this collection is clear through images of St Andrews notorieties and traditions, as well as the documentation of St Andrews life, capturing the essence of the town over the span of five decades. However, the interpretation of this collection requires an investigation into Cowie's practice as a documentary photographer and photojournalist, and how his practice relates to his work in the St Andrews archive.

The Archive

Cowie's photographic material total over sixty thousand objects. This includes gelatin glass plate negatives, lantern slides, acetate negatives and gelatin silver prints. As Cowie began his career in the early twentieth century, the progression of photographic technology is apparent in the range of materials that he used when they became available. Around half the material in the collection is glass, although this material takes up a greater amount of physical space than the other negatives within the archive due to the fragile nature of the glass plates. More storage space is required to protect images on the glass and avoid any potential damage. Humidity is a major factor in the deterioration of glass negatives, such as when 'gelatin plates stored next to one another without anything to separate them stick together ... when plates are stored at high humidity or when protective varnish or the gelatin have become sticky

because of decomposition.’³³ Conversely, in low-humidity conditions ‘the gelatin contracts and produces stress at the glass-gelatin interface. Conditions that repeatedly fluctuate between high and low humidity eventually weaken the attachment, and the gelatin layer lifts away.’³⁴ As the plates are stored in a controlled environment, the Cowie collection has remained in good condition, avoiding such deterioration. Some plates needed cleaning when the collection was acquired, possibly due to previous poor storage as well as a fire that occurred in Cowie’s studio which caused some plates to be covered in soot.³⁵ Other photographic material within the collection has required less conservation efforts, such as the more modern acetate- and polyester-based negatives.

As in many cases with professional photographers of this period, ‘processed glass plate negatives are often found stored in the same poor-quality cardboard box in which the sensitized plates were packaged for sale.’³⁶ Cowie was no exception, as can be seen in a photograph of him in his studio (fig. 1.1). Exposed glass plates stored in boxes they were provided in are piled up on shelving units at the back of the studio, labelled and organised in a way which Cowie and Govan could navigate. In archival terms, it is important to recognise this system that the photographers themselves used when accessioning a collection. The St Andrews Photographic Collection acknowledges this and aims to ‘always try and use the

³³ Martine Gillet, Chantal Garnier, and Francoise Flieder, “Glass Plate Negatives: Preservation and Restoration, 1989,” in *Issues in the Conservation of Photographs*, eds. Debra Hess Norris and Jennifer Jae Gutierrez (California: Getty Publications, 2010), 346.

³⁴ Bertrand Lavedrine, *Photographs of the Past: Process and Preservation* (California: Getty Publications, 2007), 248.

³⁵ Jane Campbell, interviewed by Lydia Heeley, personal interview, St Andrews, 27/10/18.

³⁶ Lavedrine, *Photographs of the Past: Process and Preservation*, 249.

order the photographer uses.’³⁷ As such, Cowie’s vast collection has been arranged with his original shelving method in mind. As seen in the studio photograph, shelves one to eleven contained Cowie’s golfing images, one to two being of golf personalities. Shelves twelve to forty-eight contain his local press photography which covers a variety of topics in St Andrews and the surrounding area of Fife.

This order is retained by the archive by using Cowie’s original shelf or box number at the start of its own numbering system to assign a unique number to each image.³⁸ In regards to the acetate negatives, these are stored in boxes and ‘divided into subjects then subdivided into alphabetical order with each negative numbered.’³⁹ Cowie did not appear to keep a written register of his negatives. Instead, he sequenced them by subject matter, or in the case of the film negatives, alphabetically. It would be left to the discretion of the archive to reorganise this collection in a way that corresponds to its own system. However, the St Andrews Photographic Collection preserves Cowie’s original thought processes and ways of working by retaining this arrangement, acknowledging Cowie as the author of this collection. The system Cowie devised to aid him in his studio now guides current and future archivists and researchers when accessing his work in the same way in which Cowie interacted with the material.

Retaining this system is important due to the lack of information available on Cowie and his career. Edwards states that the ‘grouping of photographs and the marking of boxes ... [are]

³⁷ Campbell Interview, 27/10/18.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

made to perform images in certain ways and thus mediate in social relations.⁴⁰ In this case, the social aspect of the nature of Cowie's character and practice as a photographer is more tangible through these systems and groupings. This would not exist were it not for the boxes displaying this order when negatives came to the archive. Whilst the negatives are now in more suitable housing, the retention of Cowie's system through each image's accession number preserves the collection as well as building on the notion of Cowie as a photojournalist.

The materiality of the Cowie collection is mainly photographic, with no manuscript material tracking his photographic career nor his life in St Andrews. Records indicate that the collection was acquired by 'The Creator,'⁴¹ presumably Cowie himself donating the material prior to his death. This suggests that Cowie had a certain awareness of his collection being used as an archive, or at least using his own sequencing as a way to curate his photographs as his own body of work. Aside from this, little other records exist to illuminate Cowie's thoughts on the archive. As Rachel Nordstrom, Photographic Collections Manager at the archive, states, 'the collection came in the 1980s and there wasn't the same understanding of photographic collections and their significance at that time.'⁴² The focus was on the images rather than any preservation of a sense of the person. As a result, supplementary documentation including business and personal records is absent from the archive, which results in 'a very unclear idea of him as a photographer and the business as such, which is

⁴⁰ Elizabeth Edwards, "Photographs: Material Form and the Dynamic Archive," in *Photographic Archives and the Photographic Memory of Art History*, ed. Constanza Caraffa (Berlin and Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2010), 52.

⁴¹ Jane Campbell, interviewed by Lydia Heeley, personal interview, St Andrews, 19/2/2019.

⁴² Rachel Nordstrom, interviewed by Lydia Heeley, personal interview, St Andrews, 22/08/18.

unfortunate from an archival perspective.’⁴³ Traces of Cowie’s thought processes, such as his shelving system, are all the physical evidence that remain from his photographic career. Therefore, the archive’s preservation of this system is even more valuable.

In terms of the digitisation of the Cowie collection, around fifteen percent of the collection has currently been indexed and digitised.⁴⁴ The majority of this is the golf related sequences, as it is both the first in the sequence and the most popular reference material. Other digitised photographs are based on what has been requested by researchers wishing to view archive material. Of the glass negatives, shelves one to eleven have been fully digitised. As Cowie’s sequencing system dictates, this comprises the golf personalities and championships that Cowie covered over the years. The digitisation of the collection is an ongoing project, affected by the usual restrictions and shortages which many archives have to navigate. As the collection numbers around sixty-thousand objects, the complete indexing and digitisation of the Cowie archive is a sizable task.

As Cowie was a well-known photographer locally during his career, Jane Campbell, research cataloguer and database officer at St Andrews Special Collections, states that ‘we all see him as a golf photographer, but he was actually the local press photographer, which I think was more important.’⁴⁵ With the large amount of work produced and the distribution of images within the press and local customers to the photographic business, Campbell suggests that there is the possibility of ‘original Cowie prints in the area, because people ordered prints

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Campbell Interview, 27/10/18.

from him.’⁴⁶ His involvement with the local community suggests that there could be many prints made by Cowie or Govan outside of the St Andrews collection. The archive’s holding of the original negatives from the business means that if print material is dispersed outside of the archive, the images are likely to be retained somewhere in negative form in the collection. Through ongoing digitisation, more images of St Andrews and Fife will become widely available, building a larger history of Cowie’s interaction with locals as the press photographer and rediscovering material that may exist in print form elsewhere.

As most of Cowie’s photographs were intended for press purposes, the original use of some images is concealed from the archive by the absence of the press format for which they were made. When thinking of a press photograph, there is only the published image, whereas searching through a photojournalist’s archive uncovers different shots and angles of the same subject, or a series of shots as the photographer followed the event. This is useful in terms of discovering previously unseen images; going through the archive and beginning to digitise the collection reveals this, as archive staff explain that ‘until we indexed them we thought it was just that one picture, but there’s several more.’⁴⁷ This can lead to uncovering images that have remained unpublished and now remain dormant in the archive. However, this reinvention is problematic as the absence of press material prompts the question of how to view Cowie’s photographs. Is the collection seen as singular, disconnected photographic images or as photographs in their original context of a series of shots being created for press purposes? In terms of Cowie’s work in the local press, the University archive holds physical and digital versions of local newspaper the *St Andrews Citizen* which Cowie contributed to

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

for over fifty years. However, as there are no business records or documentation, it is difficult to know what other publications Cowie supplied. Moreover, the Citizen records are separate from the photographic archive, meaning that to research the collection one must seek out both parts of the university archive and reunite photograph and article. This adds another layer to the materiality of Cowie's archive; to investigate his career in the press, one must consult either bound copies or microfilm reels of the *Citizen*, adding more types of material to view in a separate part of the university archive.

To understand Cowie's practice as a photographer and his contribution to photojournalism, external newspaper archives should be consulted. The Cowie collection is interesting in this sense as it prompts an investigation outside of the photographic archive in order to fully understand his career and work. When studied through this press context, images by Cowie found in newspapers can then be sought out in the photographic archive, creating a full-circle view of Cowie's practice. Acknowledging the lack of documentation around Cowie in the archive, consulting the press context enables a broader view of Cowie as a practicing photojournalist. This and the system used by Cowie, retained by the archive, give the greatest insight into his documentary practice. By holding this large photographic collection, the St Andrews archive enables the discussion of the significance of photojournalism at this time, whilst retaining an important photographic record of the history of St Andrews.

Cowie's Photojournalism

The widespread use of photography in newspapers was a relatively new concept at the beginning of the century, as 'in England it was not until 1904 that the *Daily Mirror* began illustrating its pages solely with photographs, and only in 1919 in America did New York's

Illustrated Daily News follow suit.⁴⁸ Cowie's career began in the 1930s, relatively soon after this change of format in the press. This was just as photographic magazines such as the British *Picture Post* became widely popular, fuelling the public's newfound desire for images of current events and building on the collaboration between photographer and editor.⁴⁹ Throughout the 1930s, as Derrick Price states, 'the paradigmatic form of documentary was produced: one which casts its subjects within a 'social problem' framework, and which argued for a politics of reform, and social education.'⁵⁰ Documentary images of subjects such as rural poverty during the Great Depression built the foundations of modern documentary with New Deal Photography.⁵¹ The world became accustomed to photography of current issues and the mass-profusion of press images.

During this vital time in the history of photojournalism, Cowie's collection provides a rare case study with which to view the state of press photography in Scotland at this time. Jason Hill and Vanessa Schwartz argue that 'because we employ news pictures as orienting tools, we rarely set them down and look more closely at their workings.'⁵² Viewing Cowie's work as documentary images published within the press creates a body of work that covers a vast range of subjects over five decades, contributing a significant record of life during this time.

⁴⁸ Gisele Freund, *Photography and Society* (Boston: Godine Press, 1980) 104.

⁴⁹ Tom Hopkinson, *Picture Post 1938-50* (London, Penguin Books Ltd, 1970).

⁵⁰ Price, "Surveyors and Surveyed: Photography out and about," 106.

⁵¹ Alan Trachtenberg, "From Image to Story: Reading the File" in *Documenting America 1935-1934: Approaches to American Culture*, eds. Carl Fleischhauer and Beverly W. Brannan (California: University of California Press, 1989) 43-73.

⁵² Jason E. Hill, and Vanessa R. Schwartz, "General Introduction," in *Getting the Picture: The Visual Culture of the News*, eds. Jason E. Hill and Vanessa R. Schwartz (London: Bloomsbury Publishing PLC, 2016) 2.

Hill and Schwartz also state that ‘news pictures provide an archive of unmistakable value to cultural historians.’⁵³ This is arguably the same value that documentary photography outside of the press is recognised for; the fact that Cowie’s images were sold to newspapers remains the context of their creation but does not lessen their value as social and cultural photographic documents.

A body of press photographs such as Cowie’s presents an example of ‘a documentary history untold, largely because it has been viewed as temporary and ‘disposable’, yet it remains vital and polemical.’⁵⁴ The temporality of press images could be a negative attribute to the photographs, the throw-away culture of newspapers supposedly lessening the value of such images. However, press photographs are created with the appeal of the mass-public in mind, suggesting that such images remain testament to the moment of their creation. Such photographs recorded the everyday mundanities of life, and historic moments captured in iconic images.

The issue of how to see Cowie’s collection in terms of singular documentary images or press photographs remains. Regarding this context of twentieth century photojournalism, we can investigate Cowie’s body of work and his photographic practice with these approaches in mind. Focusing on what was published in the *St Andrews Citizen*, the main local newspaper at that time, we now turn to examining the types of photographs by Cowie that were published in relation to how they are viewed in the archive.

⁵³ Hill and Schwartz, “General Introduction,” 4.

⁵⁴ Normand, *Scottish Photography: A History*, 128.

Early Years

Without business records it is difficult to know exactly which papers Cowie supplied with photographs. For this reason, this investigation will focus on examples of Cowie's photojournalism from the *St Andrews Citizen*. Focusing on the local newspaper of the town where Cowie resided also provides a better view of his engagement with St Andrews over the years. Beginning his photographic career in the 1930s, Cowie's work appeared regularly in the *Citizen* in 1931. Covering sporting events, weddings and anniversaries, Cowie began his career as the multi-faceted local press photographer. He quickly establishes himself as the local sports photographer, shooting images of football matches, athletic events, and of course, golf tournaments. Some of the first golfing images published by the *Citizen* are seen as early as August 1931 (fig. 1.2). Cowie's coverage of the Eden Tournament of that year leads to two of his images being published in the paper: a shot of the two finalists, W. C. B. Thomson and local-man T. P. Rodger at the top of the article; and an image of Thomson receiving the tournament cup at the bottom of the page. Rather than using 'action' shots, the paper elected to print posed photographs of the players and of the trophy presentation ceremony, showing the participants clearly rather than from afar on the golf course.

As previously discussed, golfing images make up a large part of the Cowie collection. Photographs of events such as the Eden tournament are echoed throughout the years in the collection, with images of players and officials, similar to these early examples. Golf has a particular significance to the landscape and culture of the town, as 'golf had been practised in Scotland, and at St Andrews in particular, since at least the mid-sixteenth century and

probably as early as a century before that.’⁵⁵ Cowie’s engagement with the sport creates an important link with the town. As shown from these early images, Cowie’s golfing photographs are a large historic document of the sport in St Andrews, providing a valuable aspect of the archive for sport historians and enthusiasts.

Aside from sport, the majority of Cowie’s photographs used in the paper in his early career are of local interest events, weddings and significant anniversaries of the townsfolk. A page taken from the 11th of January 1936 is a prime example of this, with three of Cowie’s photographs illustrating three articles (fig. 1.3). On the left, Mr and Mrs Burns celebrate their Golden Wedding anniversary; in the middle Mr Archibald Ritchie rescues an orphaned baby seal; and on the right a St Andrews man’s wedding takes place in Buckhaven. In terms of the anniversary and wedding, the people pictured are posed in such a way that the photograph serves as a record of the significant moment in time. Press photographs, especially portraits of people such as these, ‘resonate with other forms of photography that are private and familiar, [and] make the people in them accessible to the viewers.’⁵⁶ Both photographs appear as the same style of family portraits that reside in our own personal archives, of posed family members and friends at events that commemorate some occasion. The images are therefore instantly recognisable for being in this format, the style of the photograph suggesting its purpose whilst the text of the paper informs the reader of the details.

⁵⁵ Mike O’Mahony, “The Art and Artifice of Early Sports Photography,” *Sport in Society*, 21, (2018): 7.

⁵⁶ Karin E. Becker, “Photojournalism and the Tabloid Press,” in *The Photography Reader*, ed. Liz Wells (London: Routledge, 2003), 299.

The story of the orphaned seal offers an interesting and different kind of local event, illustrated with the unusual sight of a man holding a seal pup. The article describes how Mr Ritchie rescued the abandoned seal in Kingsbarns, the neighbouring village to St Andrews, and how he took the pup down to the sea every day to let it swim. In the archive, there are seven photographs of the seal, some more blurry than others as Cowie attempted to capture the seal pup, which the article explains ‘strenuously objects to being touched’. The negative of the published image shows the wider view of Mr Ritchie’s garden, with plants trailing up fences in the background and a collie dog roaming the garden just behind his master (fig. 1.4). The image presents this information, whereas the article elaborates on the situation, setting up Mr Ritchie as a temporary caretaker of the seal. This loss of context can be said to be minor in the case of such a light news story. However, this illustrates one of the challenges facing the archive in the case of such images. Exploring Cowie’s photographs in these contexts leads to a greater understanding of their historical contexts, even when viewing everyday stories such as these.

In these early images it is significant that Cowie is credited as the photographer of the images, with the caption ‘Photo by G. M. Cowie, St Andrews’ clearly added under each photograph. Allan Sekula argues that within documentary photography ‘a cult of authorship, an auteurism, takes hold of the image, separating it from the social conditions of its making and elevating it above the multitude of lowly and mundane uses to which photography is commonly put.’⁵⁷ In the case of Cowie’s early press photographs and their counterparts in the archive, this creates an interesting point. Cowie’s press photographs constitute one of the

⁵⁷ Allan Sekula, “Dismantling Modernism, Reinventing Documentary (Notes on the Politics of Representation),” *Massachusetts Review*, 19, no. 4 (Winter, 1978): 865.

‘mundane’ uses of photography, creating images to illustrate one moment in time, forgotten the next day. However, the fact that Cowie is credited as the photographer of these images is significant, as it affirms the authorship of his own images in their published format, rather than being a nameless press photographer. When the same photograph is seen in the archive, Sekula’s argument of auteurism can be seen more clearly, as the detached press image falls into Cowie’s vast archive, which naturally assigns himself as the photographer and creator of the archive. Thus, in his early photographic work, Cowie maintains an authorship of both kinds of images, those dispersed in the press and those held within the archive. As well as receiving full credit as published press images at the time, the same images retain this sense of archival authorship as a part of Cowie’s larger body of work within the collection. However, as will be seen, this authorship within the press was not always preserved throughout Cowie’s career as a photojournalist.

Second World War

In Cowie’s early career, photographs were regularly published in the *Citizen*, illustrating numerous news articles. This changed with the advent of the Second World War, as newspapers faced the challenges of paper shortages and censorship. As the local St Andrews paper reduced in page numbers due to such rationing, the use of photographs was also limited. Little to none of Cowie’s or any other photojournalist’s images were published during wartime in the *Citizen*, with the few exceptions being the occasional wedding photograph. An exception to this is seen in November 1940, as a report on an air raid in which four bombs were dropped on the town is illustrated with a photograph of a bomb-damaged house (fig. 1.5). The paper refers to the photograph as a ‘bombed cottage in east coast town’ rather than giving a specific location, limiting the amount of information provided on the event. Although the information surrounding the photograph and its location

is limited, the article provides extensive details on the circumstances surrounding the air raid, including locals' whereabouts at the time the bombs dropped, reporting that only one person suffered a serious injury, as well as telling of a soldier who was left with half a haircut when the air raid siren sounded.

The published photograph shows the extent of the damage as the bombed cottage fills the frame. Only two exterior walls remain as the rest of the house has collapsed inwards. The image presents a pragmatic view of the disaster, focusing on the house and omitting any details surrounding it that could point to a specific location. Significantly, the photograph is not credited to any photographer. The photographer's anonymity adds to this sense of a lack of place and removes any trace of a producer.

An exploration of the St Andrews Photographic Collection reveals that the image of the bombed-out cottage is in fact one of Cowie's photographs. Here we can see a wider view of the damage and the surrounding area of the building (fig. 1.6). The photograph was taken on a glass plate, as can be seen from the black plate marks on the edge of the image. More visible from this negative is the damage to the cottage, a bookshelf the only piece of furniture still standing and a slanted picture still hanging on the surviving wall. The archive catalogue entry not only identifies Cowie as the photographer, but states that the scene happened in 'Alison Place, at foot of Greenside Place, St Andrews.' The photographer and location, which the newspaper had omitted, are restored retrospectively by the archive. As previously discussed, comparing the photograph in its two formats brings greater clarity to the circumstances in which it was taken and the reason for its publication. However, the lack of ownership of the press image affects Cowie's function as the local press photographer.

As the press aspect of Cowie's work was limited during these years, an investigation of the archive reveals a larger range of Cowie's photographs of war time. An image of Cowie's that has gained attention is that of a gas mask fitting session in the Town Hall in 1939 (fig. 1.7). The busy scene is focused on the young schoolboy being fitted with a mask, his concerned eyes looking directly at Cowie's camera. Figures are blurred behind him as others rush around the hall with boxes holding more gas masks, as others are also fitted. The image conveys the atmosphere of a bustling hall with people hard at work, whilst the young child's fraught expression creates a sense of stillness and sobriety. The image records that 'gas masks were issued in St Andrews over three days in each of three centres, a fact which demonstrates a general fear on the part of all the prospective combatants of the looming Second World War.'⁵⁸ As with the bombed cottage, this photograph is a document of how the war affected the small town of St Andrews.

This photograph of Cowie's has been often cited, as the impact of the boy's expression amongst the busy background captures a sense of the wartime fear and concern in St Andrews. Robert Smart states that the photograph is 'testament both to his ability as a photojournalist and to the role he played in personalising the story of this community.'⁵⁹ Indeed, it is held up as a prime example of Cowie's photojournalism in the *Treasures of St Andrews University* book published in 2010. The photograph was not published in the *Citizen* during the war and has only gained attention long after the photographer's death. This is a case of Cowie the photojournalist seen posthumously within the archive rather than through the press. As such, the image seems to stand alone as a photographic document, creating a

⁵⁸ Smart, "War and Peace: George M. Cowie, Gas Mask Fitting, St Andrews, 1939," 126.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

stronger sense of authorship in the way that Sekula suggests. It is clearly an image from war time, yet it is separated from this press context in contrast to the bombed-out cottage which is largely defined by its press context. Thus, it has become an iconic documentary image as seen through the archive.

During wartime, Cowie also recorded an unannounced visit to St Andrews by Winston Churchill in 1940.⁶⁰ The St Andrews Photographic Collection holds nine images of this event, recording Churchill meeting with the Polish leader General Sikorski to inspect the defences around the town. The group is seen walking on West Sands, accompanied by Churchill's wife and numerous officials and uniformed soldiers. One of these photographs shows the party walking on West Sands (fig. 1.8). Many of the group have cheerful expressions, despite the official and sombre reason for the tour of St Andrews. Another image depicts the group winding down another path, the large gathering following Churchill (fig. 1.9). The soldier in front points something out to the party, drawing attention to the defences made from barbed wire to the left of the photograph. This serves as a stark reminder of the impact of the Second World War on all parts of the country, with St Andrews playing its own part in this. The photographs of Churchill's visit have become 'common currency'⁶¹ when referencing Cowie's body of work. A unique moment in the town and the country's history, the photographs are historic documents in their own right, their significance instantly recognisable by the portrayal of Churchill.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Bruce Pert, "George Cowie 1902-1982," in *Mood of the Moment: Masterworks of Photography from the University of St Andrews*, ed. Martin Kemp (Perth: Woods of Perth (Printers) Ltd, 1994) 47.

The Churchill photographs were published neither in 1940 nor in the following years due to wartime censorship within the press. This restriction of the papers ensured that ‘any information of potential military significance – from weather reports, to the exact location of troops – would be removed.’⁶² A report on the Prime Minister examining the defences of the town at that time would have been detrimental to national security. Therefore, it only gained attention long after the event took place. It was not until 1980 that a photograph from the visit was published in the *Citizen* (fig. 1.8). The paper used the image of the group walking down West Sands on the front page to commemorate forty years since the Polish evacuation to Britain.

The article credits Cowie as the photographer within the text itself, explaining that Cowie took the photographs while ‘home on leave from the army’. This could explain the absence of Cowie’s contributions to the *Citizen* at this time; as well as shortages and censorship, Cowie himself served in the military. The article also confirms why it was not printed at the time – that the wartime censor had banned its publication for security reasons. The fact that Cowie is referenced in the article itself suggests that, forty years after the image was taken, the photographer is seen by the paper as a major contributor. Cowie provides historic documents through his photographs that the *Citizen* uses latterly as an archive of important moments in St Andrews. His significance as a photojournalist in these terms is most apparent through the attention which his images of Churchill have drawn, from the archive and the press itself.

⁶² Henry Irving, “Chaos and Censorship in the Second World War,” accessed 1/2/19.
<https://history.blog.gov.uk/2014/09/12/chaos-and-censorship/>.

The images produced by Cowie during war time present an important aspect of the overall collection. Here we have three differing examples of Cowie's photojournalism. Firstly, there are unattributed published images that can be accounted for through archive research. Secondly, there are unpublished, standalone images that gain attention only through the archive. And thirdly, the images that were censored and have attained historical significance in retrospect, with Cowie's authorship attributed in both the archive and the press. While Cowie may have lost ownership of his images in the press at the time, he regains it retrospectively through the archival preservation of his collection. This suggests that photojournalism within archives is mutable; whilst Cowie's photographic collection could be seen as a static historic body of work, the reinterpretation that can now take place with his images progresses many years after the photographs have been taken. However, Cowie's photographs remain rooted within his press context, whether attributed or not. The significance of his wartime career has gained acclaim after the fact, whereas many of his images received attention during the time of their creation.

Post-War Years

After the end of the Second World War, the *Citizen* required many years to recover its use of photography to the pre-war level. Whereas three of Cowie's photographs graced the pages of the local press in 1936, it was rare to find more than one image used per page, if any image was used at all in the immediate post-war years. The use of wedding photographs remained a staple within the paper, ensuring work for Cowie throughout the post-war years. However, this trend was broken occasionally by a significant event in the town, such as the visit of The Queen Mother, Queen Elizabeth to St Andrews in 1950. The paper published two of Cowie's photographs to report on this event, one of which occupies a large part of upper page (fig. 1.9).

The two photographs display moments in the Queen's visit on South Street and North Street, elaborating on the description of the day's itinerary within the article. This event within the town is a useful case study for exploring the series of photographs taken by a photojournalist to record the event to be reported. The collection holds twenty-five negatives from the visit, following the royal party through their movements within the town. The first image, as revealed by its counterpart from the St Andrews collection, is published with only slight cropping around the frame of the image (fig. 1.10). The scale is largely kept the same, possibly to emphasise the great crowds that gathered in the street, as well as including the Queen and town officials in the shot.

When discussing a photojournalist's work, it is worth consideration of these images that were not published. Nadya Bair states that 'to please editors, photographers also needed to overshoot their assignments, making many more exposures than could ever be used in order to give editors – and writers – an exhaustive pictorial account of the story.'⁶³ With the use of the archive, it is possible in Cowie's case to investigate these 'overshot' news stories. There are six other negatives from the same viewpoint of the published photograph taken at different times throughout the address delivered to the Queen by the Provost. The published image depicts the moment after the address, but captures the full scale of the event with a clear view of the Queen and officials.

Similar shots of the event exist in the archive, such as an image capturing the royal car driving down South Street, with crowds flocking on either side of the road (fig. 1.11). These

⁶³ Nadya Bair "Never Alone: Photo Editing and Collaboration," in *Getting the Picture: The Visual Culture of the News*, eds. Jason E. Hill and Vanessa R. Schwartz (London: Bloomsbury Publishing PLC, 2016) 231.

record the series of events that occurred during the day, adding to the overall series of the visit itself in the Cowie collection. In contrast to the published photograph, this particular image does not show the Queen herself, but rather focuses on the townspeople. Numerous bystanders wave Union Jack flags and position themselves for a better view of the car - a woman stands on the roof of a car to the left of the image and two men stand on high windowsills. The building to the right of these two men, now the Criterion Pub, currently displays an enlarged copy of this photograph. This demonstrates the value of investigating the series made by photojournalists outside of their published images, as this unpublished photograph is now on public display to commemorate the event. This is an example of Cowie's collection informing the local history of St Andrews, becoming a part of a collective memory of the town that can now be used by locals outside of the archive.

In terms of the second image published, there is a number of shots in the collection taken on the road as the group headed to St Salvator's Chapel, and then Younger Hall. The Queen was described as wearing the red and white robes of a Doctor of Laws from the university as she processed through the town. In comparison to the published photograph, the original negative from the archive shows a much wider view of the captured moment (fig. 1.12). Cowie must have stood on the road to take this photograph, presumably limited by his permissible proximity to the royal party. Therefore, the published image is largely cropped to focus on the Queen and the lavishly costumed Herald leading the group. The *Citizen* version of the image presents a close-up view of the party, framed by the tall pillars of a gate next to Younger Hall.

This is an example of how the press can alter photographs to better illustrate news stories. Becker states that in many cases 'the photographs bear little resemblance to the

photographers' frames. Extreme sizes, both large and small, and shapes that deviate sharply from the originals' rectangular proportions are routine.'⁶⁴ Whilst Cowie's image is only cropped, the scale of this editing changes the view of the event and how it is captured. Becker further argues that 'according to the rules applied in other areas of photojournalism and documentary photography, the integrity of the rectangular frame is not to be violated.'⁶⁵ In this case, the editing of Cowie's image merely creates a greater focus on the subjects, and as such does not alter the meaning of the photograph or the message conveyed within it through its use in the article. The only omission this edit creates is the cropping of a police officer in the background, and the large expanse of pavement before Cowie. Even this minor edit raises the issue of image editing within the press; it is not known if an editor at the paper made this decision or if Cowie altered the photograph for publication. The collaborative nature of photojournalism in terms of editing is apparent when viewing the published article as well as the original negatives within the Cowie collection.

On closer inspection of the first published photograph and the information present within the article, another issue arises. The photograph's title within the archive is 'Queen Elizabeth's Visit, Outside the Town Hall, South Street, St Andrews; the Queen with Provost Tulloch and Mrs Dewer.' The article describes the Queen, after receiving the address from the Provost, stepping down to speak to ninety-nine-year-old Mrs Dewer, the Queen shaking hands with her and expressing surprise at her 'vigorous grip.' The published photograph captures this moment amid the large crowds. However, when investigating the series of images in the Cowie collection, there is another photograph of this moment taken from a different vantage

⁶⁴ Becker, "Photojournalism and the Tabloid Press," 304.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

point. A closer shot shows more clearly Mrs Dewer in her wheelchair shaking hands with the Queen, with the stand on which the address was given in the background (fig. 1.13). This suggests that there were two photographers present at the event. Jane Campbell proposes that ‘his wife was probably taking photographs as well ... when the Queen Mother came there are definitely two points of the same action that’s happening.’⁶⁶ As Beatrice Govan was a large part of the photographic business and skilled in the darkroom, it is highly likely that she was more than competent with a camera. Inspecting the published photograph from the area in which this second photograph must have been taken, it seems that Cowie himself was amongst the group of male photographers in the lower right of the photograph. Therefore, it is likely that Govan shot the image from further back, creating the photograph that was published by the *Citizen*. The second published image is likely to be taken by Cowie due to his proximity to the royal party.

This raises the issue of collaboration within photojournalism in the production of press images. Bair suggests that ‘when we affirm that photojournalists were never alone, we can begin to ask new questions about the group efforts of press photography.’⁶⁷ In most cases, this group effort is seen as press editors and writers, which is also relevant to Cowie in the publishing of his images. However, in this specific case, Cowie’s business partner and wife produces a collaboration that results in an image other than Cowie’s being published, whilst still being attributed to him through its presence in the archive collection. Significantly, the paper does not credit Cowie for either photograph, perhaps for these reasons. These two points can challenge Cowie’s authorship over his photographs, both within the press and the

⁶⁶ Campbell interview, 27/10/18.

⁶⁷ Bair, “Never Alone: Photo Editing and Collaboration,” 234.

archive. Since the two ran a photographic studio together working towards the aim of producing press photographs, it suggests that this was a collaborative effort to capture the best image from that day. Ultimately, the scene capturing the larger scale of the event is chosen to be published, rather than the close-up, intimate view of the meeting between Mrs Dewer and the Queen. Whilst this photograph illustrates part of the text in the article, the larger photograph is published to encapsulate the whole day, rather than specific moments. It is through the archive that these series of photographs can be further investigated, and issues of authorship, collaboration and gender in photojournalism can be brought to light.

In Nadya Bair's discussion of the collaborative nature of the Magnum photographic agency, it is stated that 'while its male photographers travelled around the world, teams of mostly female secretaries, sales agents, and editors stayed "home."' ⁶⁸ Women played out many of the behind-the-scenes roles of their male counterparts, editing images and handling the finances of the agency. It can be said that Govan may have acted in a similar capacity to these 'Magnum Girls,' managing the Cowie photographic business. As previously stated, if Govan ran the darkroom side of the business, it is more than likely she was skilled with the technical aspects of working a camera in the field. Bair suggests that 'in addition to cultivating talented photographers, Magnum served as a laboratory and training ground for a decisive network of (female) professionals who shaped the broader post-war visual economy well beyond Magnum, and who are often missing from histories of photography.' ⁶⁹ As Magnum was

⁶⁸ Nadya Bair, "The Decisive Network: Magnum Photos and the Art of Collaboration in Postwar Photojournalism," (PhD dissertation, University of Southern California, 2016) 17.

⁶⁹ Bair, "The Decisive Network: Magnum Photos and the Art of Collaboration in Postwar Photojournalism," 18.

founded in 1947, this approach is mirrored around the same time in the small coastal town in Fife, Govan playing her own part in this post-war photojournalism in an effort to build her husband's career.

Robert Smart states that the photographic business was started not by Cowie, but by Govan, whose previous business savvy originated from being a partner in a company in North Berwick, Day and Govan.⁷⁰ Smart also states that Govan not only 'saw to the studio work, the processing, and looked after the retail shop, but occasionally they did outdoor jobs together.'⁷¹ So far in the negatives that have been digitised by the archive, it seems that this event is the main series that shows Govan's involvement in taking photographs destined for the press. This suggests that Govan mainly assisted in making images with Cowie at major events, other examples of which may yet be discovered in the archive's collection. Nevertheless, what is evident from this is that Govan played a large role in the business and in shaping Cowie's career, an effort that has largely gone unnoticed and undocumented.

Aside from Smart's article on Cowie, little to nothing is written on Govan and her part in the business, or her photographic abilities. Rosler records a similar occurrence in which W. Eugene Smith and his wife Aileen Mioko Smith created an image and text project in the 1970s on a humanitarian crisis in Minamata, Japan. When the Smiths sent the project to the American magazine *Camera 35*, the editor ran a photograph of Smith as the front cover, focusing on him as a photojournalist rather than the documentary project, and omitting any mention of Aileen.⁷² This presents another example of the omission of female collaboration

⁷⁰ Smart, "War and Peace: George M. Cowie, Gas Mask Fitting, St Andrews, 1939," 127.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Rosler, "In, Around, and Afterthoughts (On documentary photography)," 77.

within photojournalism. Overall, the collection as it is in the archive does not hint towards Govan's involvement, despite the seemingly large part she played in Cowie's photographic career. Govan's involvement challenges the notion of Cowie's authorship over his collection, within the press and the archive, as this shows not only an example of Govan aiding Cowie at a major event, but one of her images is published by the press. This also challenges the notion of the male photojournalist; as with Magnum, Govan provided vital input to the business and its published material that enhanced a male photojournalist's career. As seen from Govan's published image, the group of photojournalists capturing the Royal visit are all male, highlighting the gender roles in photojournalism at this time. Cowie is positioned at the front of the action, in the public eye, whereas Govan shoots from a distance. Cowie's identity as the male professional photojournalist is altered by the knowledge of his wife's involvement in the creation of his press images. Whilst the majority of Cowie's collection appears to be his own work, this collaboration was clearly a large part of Cowie's personal and professional life. It is vital that Govan's contribution be accounted for when considering Cowie's photojournalism.

Whereas the photographs of Churchill were not used until long after the event, this case demonstrates the publication of Cowie's work only a few days after the event took place, presenting his photojournalism as current and important for news coverage at the time. Now it can be seen as a historic moment, but at the time of publication it was current and relevant to the paper's readers. However, these images raise further issues of Cowie's relationship to his photojournalism, not only exemplified by the lack of credit for these images as in previously discussed cases, but also by the collaboration between himself and his business partner Govan, and the paper's editors. Especially in the case of Govan's contribution to his work, Cowie's authorship is challenged by the use of another photographer's images.

Acknowledging this collaboration and Govan's input to Cowie's career must be recognised in order to re-evaluate Cowie's photojournalism, exploring the collaborative nature of photojournalism. These aspects are only apparent when reviewing the press context of his work; within the archive, these photographs remain largely unquestioned with regard to issues such as this. It is vital to consult the *Citizen* in order to fully grasp Cowie's photographic career, as the archive material alone gives a different view of his photographs to other existing versions of them that were dispersed through the press.

Later Years

The intermittent use of Cowie's photographs within the *Citizen* continued until the 1970s. The edition of the paper published on the 8th of June 1974 announced a 'new look' for the *Citizen*, boasting a new style for articles and advertisements, as well as better reproduction qualities for photographs. This format was akin to modern day newspapers with the use of large photospreads to illustrate articles. As with the previously discussed 1980 front page featuring the Churchill photograph, this new look made use of photographs with greater frequency and on a larger scale. This new style of publishing created the opportunity for Cowie's images to be front page news. Cowie continued to be the local press photographer for weddings and anniversaries, as well as covering town events and sporting tournaments.

By this point in his career, Cowie was renowned for his sports photography. As at the beginning of his career, he continued to cover golf tournaments and championships in Fife until his death, from which many images were published as current news events. However, during this time Cowie's past photographic work is also published by the *Citizen*, using his sporting photographs to reflect on St Andrews' history. An article published in 1978 uses Cowie's images of the Open from various past years as a full-page spread (fig. 1.14). Here,

he is credited at the top of the page as the photographer, next to the article's writer, the paper acknowledging Cowie's authorship over these images. Each photograph has a caption by the writer describing Cowie's golfing images throughout the years and the changing nature of the game in St Andrews, such as the now absent railway passing by the golf course with steam clouds emitted from the train that obscure the players. Cowie captures a member of the press lying in front of a young Arnold Palmer practising his putt, as well as technicians carrying an extremely long aerial from the first use of walkie-talkies on the course in 1946. Cowie's collection of golf photography has 'provided much fascinating fodder for golf writers and sport historians,'⁷³ with this interest apparent in the very paper that published many of them. These photographs range from periods throughout Cowie's career, displaying his sports photography outside of the traditional trophy acceptances and posed portraits.

Acknowledging his long career within the town, the *Citizen* makes use of his prolific body of work to illustrate the town's historic relationship to golf. The article uses Cowie's photographs in a similar way to that of viewing such images in the archive; here, the paper explores Cowie's previous work from the series surrounding the published shots of winners and trophies. In this sense, the paper uses one of its own photojournalists to draw on a large body of work that can be used to illustrate articles on the past. The *Citizen* creates its own archive of Cowie's work from within the press contexts from which they originated.

The *Citizen* similarly uses Cowie's images in this archival sense in 1982 - the year of Cowie's death. An article published on the 8th of October 1982 reports on 'A Portrait of Fife'

⁷³ Scott A.G.M. Crawford, "The British Golf Museum, St Andrews University Archives, and the Golf Heritage Department of the Royal and Ancient Club, St Andrews, Scotland," *Journal of Sport History*, 33, no. 2 (2006): 244.

using three of Cowie's images (fig. 1.15). It features one of his now 'most sought-after'⁷⁴ golf photographs of Bing Crosby on the Eden Course for the British Amateur Tournament in 1950. Here the paper acknowledges an exciting moment in the town's history as the celebrity takes a practice swing on the famous course, with the beaming crowd standing around him. The published image is mostly unchanged from the original negative in the archive (fig. 1.16). The photograph illustrates the draw of golf in the town to celebrities and professional players, as well as the spectators that gather to watch them play. Cowie's photograph conveys a sense of the excitement and buzz around the American singer, the teeming crowd having to be held back. The paper's use of this image acknowledges Cowie's work with golf photography, as well as the appeal of St Andrews in drawing prominent figures and creating this unique insight into the town's history.

Above the Crosby photograph is one of Cowie's images of motorcycles racing on West Sands, negatives of which can be found in the archive over different years of the races (fig. 1.17). These negatives provide greater clarity of the image than the reproduced press photographs; here especially, the motorbikes are more clearly visible, creating a dramatic landscape on the otherwise empty stretch of beach, with the iconic townscape of St Andrews in the background. The paper utilises Cowie's significance as a sport photographer at the end of his career, using his images as a sports archive within the press. His coverage of sports ranging from golf championships to races such as this, football matches and college athletic matches provide an enormous record of sporting life in the town. As well as the *Citizen*

⁷⁴ Campbell interview, 27/10/18.

reporting on these events at the time, the paper can now reflect on these images as valuable archival material.

Also acknowledged as characterising a major moment in Cowie's career and the town's history are his photographs taken in World War Two; rather than focusing on the Churchill images, here a photograph of the impact on the town is published. The post office, formally the residence of Scottish photography pioneer Dr John Adamson, now The Adamson restaurant, is shown with sandbag defences outside the entrance (fig. 1.18). Two men work to pile the sandbags around the entrance of the building whilst a group of women watch. The paper recognises the significance of images such as these, and Cowie's contribution in recording the town during wartime. Although Cowie is not specifically credited for these photographs, the article itself pays tribute to the late Cowie. It reports that the book *Fife 1910-1950: Portrait of a County*, that also features Cowie's Churchill photograph as the front cover, will publish around twenty of Cowie's images, from the archive now acquired by the St Andrews Photographic Collection. This emphasises the importance of Cowie's archive that was recognised by the town and local residents even before his death.

At the end of Cowie's career, he not only produces images that are published up until his death, but his work is also recognised by the press itself as an important archive of documentary photography for the town. This points towards the future uses of the collection, as valuable material that had remained previously unpublished begins to draw attention to Cowie's photojournalism. When thinking of press photography, this notion of a press archive is often ignored due to the fast-paced nature of the media. As Hill and Schwartz acknowledge, 'news pictures appear at the fastest possible clip given the historical conditions of circulation at any given moment: they are produced, circulated, and acted upon by their

constituted publics as quickly as possible, and then are quickly and necessarily displaced, replaced, and often forgotten.⁷⁵ To negate this fact, the use of an archive such as this rediscovers past press photography to put it to use not only in its own right, but through the very press itself as with these examples. As such, Cowie retains authorship over this archive through its preservation, becoming a source of photographic documentation of local history during his lifetime. This press archive could be said to foreshadow Cowie's donation of the collection to the St Andrews archive, acknowledging the uses that can come from the posthumous reflection of his photography through the preservation of his photographic career.

Exhibitions

In terms of how Cowie's work has been exhibited since his death, there are two main examples. The collection remains largely untouched, however there are aspects of the archive that have gained increasing attention. A selection of Cowie's photographs was displayed in the 1994 exhibition *Mood of the Moment: Masterworks of Photography from the University of St Andrews* at the Crawford Arts Centre. The exhibition included work by St Andrews photography luminaries John and Robert Adamson, Thomas Rodger, James Valentine, Robert Moyes Adam and Cowie himself. Cowie's inclusion in this display alongside such prominent figures of Scottish photography suggests how the organisers acknowledged the scale of his photographic within St Andrews and wished to place him within this legacy of Scottish photographers. The exhibition aimed to display 'six different interpretations of the

⁷⁵ Hill and Schwartz, "General Introduction," 5.

photographic moment,’⁷⁶ tracking not only the physical and chemical progression of the medium, but the way in which these photographers used photography to document their surroundings and the changing nation of Scotland during their lifetimes.

Cowie’s importance as a photographer in St Andrews is apparent when shown with this in mind; his documentation of the town is a showcase of its history, people and events during a fifty-year period. Linking him to the pioneers of Scottish photography, the exhibition acknowledges that ‘he too photographed the fisherfolk living on the Fife coast; he too photographed the celebrities of the 20th century who visited St Andrews, just as John Adamson and Thomas Rodger had done in the 19th century.’⁷⁷ This comparison positions Cowie’s work alongside important Scottish documentary photography, viewing his photographs as individual images rather than debating their press origins and purpose. The exhibition touched on Cowie’s press career but displayed the photographs without any acknowledgement of their use in the *Citizen* or other newspapers. In this the images are standalone examples of his skill as a documentary photographer, the context of which relates to the legacy of Scottish photography overall.

The exhibition was put together in the hope that it would ‘bring to the fore some of the lesser known contributions to Scottish photography and reveal the riches in one of its finest but least exhibited collections.’⁷⁸ It aimed to place these important photographers in the public eye and highlight significant historical materials in the St Andrews Photographic Collection.

⁷⁶ Pert, “George Cowie 1902-1982,” 4.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

Using Cowie's photographs in this context demonstrates one way in which the archive has been utilised as a testament to twentieth century photojournalism.

More recently, the 2016 St Andrews Photography Festival focused on Cowie's sport photography by displaying a selection of his golf photographs. Images were displayed in the Rusacks Hotel, located on Pilmour Links, close to the eighteenth hole of the Old Course. Using photographs of tournaments and famous golf personalities such as Old Tom Morris, the exhibition platformed the town's historic relationship to the sport. The festival used this key location for this display to 'demonstrate that golf is an intrinsic part of St Andrews,'⁷⁹ drawing on the ever-popular golf industry and tourist trade that still prevails in the town each year. The festival showcases archive collections such as Cowie's that may not otherwise be exhibited often. The fact that the archive holds all of Cowie's negatives allows the curation of images for displays such as this. This promotes his practice as a photographer and a photojournalist, as well as highlighting the fact that the university holds many important and varied photographic collections such as Cowie's. This collection's relevance to the archive and the town itself is such that modern exhibitions of Cowie's work still engage a wide audience, with the Photography Festival facilitating this in a way that highlights his importance to many aspects of the town's history.

However, this use of Cowie's collection within these two exhibitions redefines his work with the removal of their original uses. Cowie is posthumously portrayed as a photojournalist, yet the images' use in the press is rarely mentioned. What is presented is a body of documentary

⁷⁹ Rachel Nordstrom, St Andrews Photo Fest Programme 2016. <https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/media/special-collections/documents/St%20Andrews%20Photography%20Festival%20Programme%202016.pdf>.

photography, now seen as meaningful by the history of the images, in line with the traditions of Scottish photography. This shows Cowie's work in a different way from the themes discussed here, suggesting one of many reinterpretations the archive can provide when looking at such work. The archive allows continual redeployment of Cowie's work in different ways, focusing on photojournalism, sport or the history of St Andrews. The collection facilitates new interpretations of Cowie's photography that will allow future explorations of this work, both within and outside of its original press context.

Conclusion

The value of Cowie's vast photographic collection is clear as a document of Scottish history from 1931 until 1982. What functioned as a photographic business has now become an archive that can be used in many ways. The archive's preservation of Cowie's material regardless of the absence of business records and other contextual documentation preserves Cowie's photographic practice. Retaining Cowie's organisation and sequencing of his collection enables a better perception of his practice. This gives context to a collection that would otherwise lack any perspective of Cowie himself. Drawing from the archival material and the original press origins of the photographs, the full extent of Cowie's photojournalism can be uncovered.

As a case study, Cowie presents a number of issues and complications within photojournalism itself. The issues of authorship, editing within the press and collaborations all build a different picture from seeing 'Cowie the photojournalist' as a single entity. This suggests that many practices in photojournalism involve similar outside parties that affect the photographs produced. Cowie's collection exemplifies the differing ways in which photographic authorship can be affected within a body of work. Whilst retaining his

authorship in his early career, the advent of the Second World War changes the nature of press photography, affecting Cowie's career in terms of attribution of his published images. The investigation into his post-war press photography reveals the collaborative nature of his career. The inclusion of Govan's work in Cowie's collection and her part in the photographic business is vital to acknowledge, elaborating on the perception of the male photojournalist's practice at this time.

As with the later parts of his career, and now posthumously, the way in which Cowie's work is perceived as a large body of historic importance encourages reinterpretation of this material. The Cowie collection provides a vast range of photographic material covering many aspects and time periods of the town of St Andrews. As such, the collection can be drawn on for its various themes as an historic resource, specifically his record of town events over fifty years and the large collection of golf photography. Cowie's photojournalism presents a view of press photography in the twentieth century in Scotland, which now stands as a photographic record within the lineage of documentary photography in St Andrews. The St Andrews Photographic Collection's custodianship, curation, indexing and digitisation of this material facilitates this reinterpretation, as well as placing Cowie within the overall context of Scottish documentary photography.

Franki Raffles and Materiality in the Archive

Introduction

Franki Raffles was a photographer born in Salford who made Scotland her home. She studied philosophy at the University of St Andrews in 1973 and remained in Scotland, living on the Isle of Lewis for four years before moving to Edinburgh. Raffles' experience of Scotland led to an engagement with Scottish culture and society that produced a large body of documentary photography. Raffles photographed the nation's inhabitants, specifically focusing on the lives of women in Scotland. Throughout her time studying at St Andrews, Raffles was part of the Women's Liberation Movement⁸⁰ - an active engagement with women's rights that she would continue throughout her life.

Raffles took up photography whilst living on Lewis, documenting local women working in traditional crofting communities. This focus on women's roles is a topic Raffles followed through all her work, engaging with each group that she photographed. Her time in Edinburgh was spent working with community groups, charities and arts organisations,⁸¹ creating documentary projects that not only produced striking images but worked towards social change and empowerment for women. With her 'fierce intelligence, passionate nature,

⁸⁰ Alistair Scott "Rediscovering Feminist Photographer Franki Raffles," *The Scottish Society for the History of Photography: Studies in Photography*, (Summer 2017): 60.

⁸¹ The Franki Raffles Archive, "Biography," accessed 11/01/18.

<http://www.frankirafflesarchive.org/biography>.

conscientiousness and belief that the rights of women's lives were something worth fighting for,'⁸² Raffles used her photography to bring about social change to improve women's lives.

Tragically, Raffles died in 1994, aged just thirty-nine, after complications following the birth of her twin daughters.⁸³ Not only did this cut short a body of work that documented Scottish life and actively sought for social change, it also left a vast collection of photographic material with Raffles' family. Carefully stored until 2013, the collection was rediscovered by Dr Alistair Scott, a close friend of Raffles since her time as a student in St Andrews.⁸⁴ Scott began to re-evaluate Raffles' collection over two decades after her death, reflecting on the legacy of her social documentary work and bringing together her photographic material. This material was comprised of photographic prints and negatives, contact sheets, catalogues, notebooks and other research material for Raffles' various projects. This differs from many photography collections, as it encompasses the photographic material as well as supplementary objects and documents that provide context to Raffles' photographic practice.

In December 2014, the collection numbering over ninety thousand images, as well as the additional manuscript material, was entrusted to the St Andrews Photographic Collection.⁸⁵ As the St Andrews archives contains the entire negative collection and print documentation of Raffles' work, it differs from many other museums and archives with incomplete

⁸² Sarah Munro, "Introduction," in *Observing Women at Work* (Glasgow: The Glasgow School of Art, 2017) 7.

⁸³ The Franki Raffles Archive, "Biography."

⁸⁴ The Franki Raffles Archive, "About," accessed 11/02/2018.

<http://www.frankirafflesarchive.org/about>.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

collections. This materiality enhances the collection by providing context from original research material, journals and notes, allowing for a full assessment of Raffles as a documentary photographer. Marc Boulay, Photographic Archivist at St Andrews at the time of the acquisition, emphasises this benefit by stating that ‘museums only show small percentages of their collections, so to be able to have an archive of a particular photographer’s work in combination with all the manuscript material that goes with it is a rare opportunity.’⁸⁶ The St Andrews Photographic Collection facilitates the storage and preservation of this vast material, as well as making it accessible to the public by promoting access through physical access and digitisation projects. As Scott states, the archive holding this material will ‘enable future researchers to investigate how her practice was shaped and make a considered assessment of her legacy.’⁸⁷ This highlights an important photographic collection that remained dormant for two decades, allowing Raffles’ place in Scottish documentary photography to be considered.

The collection includes work made in Scotland and abroad; Raffles travelled extensively, making projects on women’s lives and work in China, Tibet and the Soviet Union. Raffles’ photographic projects presented her concern with the representation of women throughout her career. This aspect of her documentary work produced in Scotland provides a valuable account of Scottish society and women’s issues from the 1970s to the 1990s. The collection holds the negatives from her first Scottish series, *Lewis Women*, as well as projects

⁸⁶ Marc Boulay “Women Workers: Stereoscope in discussion with Marine Benoit-Blain and Marc Boulay on the documentary photography of Franki Raffles,” interview by Stereoscope Magazine, *Stereoscope*, volume 6 (2015): 70.

⁸⁷ Scott, “Rediscovering Feminist Photographer Franki Raffles,” 62.

commissioned by the Edinburgh District Council such as *To Let You Understand...*, which documented the lives of women working in Edinburgh in the late 1980s. One of her last projects, *Zero Tolerance*, is made up of a large amount of photographic and manuscript material, documenting progress of the charity that Raffles helped to establish with Evelyn Gillian to raise awareness of men's violence towards women and children.⁸⁸ The preservation of the material aspects of the collection is vital not only in order to examine Raffles' own creative process, but to re-examine social issues three decades after projects such as these were made. This chapter will focus on the materiality of the *To Let You Understand...* and *Zero Tolerance* projects, as they provide a document of Scottish women's issues at this time, as well as discussing the position of Raffles' practice within the Scottish tradition of documentary photography.

The Material Archive

The materiality of the Raffles collection consists of two elements: the photographic materiality of physical images in the form of negatives and prints, and the materiality of the supporting documentation and manuscript material such as research papers, letters and notebooks. Edwards and Hart argue that 'materiality is closely related to social biography.'⁸⁹ When considering the Raffles collection, as with Cowie, it is important to explore both photographic material and this supplementary manuscript material to inform Raffles' identity as a photographer. As the collection contains all of Raffles' work and documentation related to her projects, this material collection can be said to be a tangible biography of her own life

⁸⁸ The Franki Raffles Archive, "Zero Tolerance," accessed 20/1/18.

<http://www.frankirafflesarchive.org/projects/zero-tolerance/>.

⁸⁹ Edwards and Hart, "Introduction: photographs as objects," 4.

and of those she photographed. The preservation of this collection by the St Andrews archive involves maintaining a range of diverse material, as well as enabling access through physical and digital means.

The majority of the Raffles collection is made up of her photographic negatives. Unlike older negative-based collections such as Cowie's, 'black-and-white gelatin silver negatives on film show good image stability.'⁹⁰ Raffles' work, being produced in the latter half of the twentieth century, is gelatin based and therefore does not require any additional conservation other than proper archival storage conditions. As the collection numbers around ninety thousand negatives, the preservation of these photographic objects is vital. As the collection came to the archive in its original state, the negatives were transferred into proper archival housing to ensure their preservation.⁹¹ Nordstrom describes the main challenge with receiving a collection like this is that 'it was essentially a working collection when she died ... so one of the biggest storage and conservation issues was to keep that original order, which is good archival practice to keep the photographer's order, but still making the collection relevant and searchable.'⁹² As with Cowie, retaining Raffles' own order of her negatives is significant as it provides a sense of her working practice as a photographer. However, unlike Cowie's curated collection, the organisation of Raffles' projects had largely to be done after her death. This makes any remnants of her ordering and choices in relation to her photographs even more valuable in the absence of knowing her own decision processes when addressing these matters of conservation.

⁹⁰ Lavedrine, *Photographs of the Past: Process and Preservation*, 256.

⁹¹ Rachel Nordstrom, interviewed by Lydia Heeley, personal interview, St Andrews, 26/10/18.

⁹² Nordstrom interview, 26/10/18.

Photographic negatives constitute a significant part of a photographer's body of work, yet they have often been overlooked as part of the image making process. With large archival collections of photographic material, 'in most cases – which includes the majority of museum and collected objects – the original negative is lost, and often only a single print remains.'⁹³ The Raffles collection is significant due to the sheer number of photographic negatives, covering the entirety of her photographic career. Amao argues that perception of the negative as a lesser collection object comes from 'the privileging of photographic prints over negatives in museum collections of photographs [that] emerges from the traditions of departments of prints and drawings.'⁹⁴ Collections such as Raffles' can challenge this perspective of negatives in order to utilize these versatile photographic objects to promote the images they contain. Negatives are not only important due to being the original photographic material, but can enable a range of options for the digitisation, reprinting and display of such material. The growing significance of negatives as objects is being shown in 'the place recently granted to negatives in art exhibitions, presented in light boxes as precious objects, underlines both current museum ambitions to be on the frontline of research and curatorial practice, as well as new curatorial appreciation for the negative as an art object.'⁹⁵ This demonstrates a realisation of the importance of the negative as a photographic object, as well as the visual properties and insights into a photographer's methodology which they can display. The St

⁹³ Stephen Ball, Susie Clark and Peter Winsor, *The Care of Photographic Materials & Related Media* (London: Museums & Galleries Commission, 1998) 10.

⁹⁴ Damarice Amao "To Collect and Preserve Negatives: The Eli Lotar Collection at the Centre Georges Pompidou," in *Photographs, Museums, Collections: Between Art and Information*, eds. Elizabeth Edwards and Christopher Morton (London: Bloomsbury, 2015) 238.

⁹⁵ Amao, "To Collect and Preserve Negatives: The Eli Lotar Collection at the Centre Georges Pompidou," 242.

Andrews archive assigns such value to Raffles' negatives, preserving them as objects in their own right, vital to her photographic practice and an important part of how the work is now accessed.

In some of Raffles' projects, many sheets of negatives have accompanying contact sheets. This addition to the collection is valuable as it enables a view of Raffles' work as she made it, as a series of events leading to the chosen shot, rather than viewing a single selected image. When viewed, these contact sheets give a better sense of Raffles' engagement with her projects, as the scope of the subjects covered is apparent at a glance, rather than obscured in negative form or singled out as individual prints. As with negatives, this material is often seen as supplementary, but can be valued as photographic objects. Elizabeth Edwards argues that when thinking of photographic objects, the 'prevailing tendency is that photographs are apprehended in one visual act, absorbing image and object together, yet privileging the former. Photographs thus become detached from their physical properties and consequently from the functional context of a materiality that is glossed merely as a neutral support for images.'⁹⁶ Contact sheets are a way of challenging this notion, as the materiality of the object is enhanced by containing multiple strips of images on one sheet of photographic paper, the film sprockets and markings visible as borders around each image. Their materiality provides context to each project and the number of images shot, revealing Raffles' image making practice.

The contact sheets in this context are even more valuable due to Raffles' own markings on them, showing her thoughts on her photographs through symbols such as circles and crosses

⁹⁶ Edwards and Hart, "Introduction: photographs as objects," 2.

around the images (fig. 2.1). As Raffles died suddenly, there was ‘no chance for her to make her own selections, no opportunity for her to make her own assessments about what she achieved.’⁹⁷ Material with her markings is even more valuable in this context to give an insight into her own thought process, her own selections of her work. The collaborative nature between Raffles’ estate and the St Andrews Photographic Collection when acquiring the collection enabled the presentation of the material to be close to Raffles’ own intentions. However, it is this physical material preserved in the collection that gives tangible evidence of Raffles’ thoughts on these projects, giving viewers a connection to the photographer herself.

Another important aspect of materiality in the Raffles collection is that a large part is made up of manuscript material, from personal diaries to research material such as police statistics. As the material came to the archive in its entirety, ‘the photographic collection got it all, although there’s lots of paperwork, lots of diaries, newspaper clippings, journals, anything that basically referenced Franki’s work she had kept, rightly so.’⁹⁸ This presented a challenge for the photography archive as to whether to keep the non-photographic material within the same collection as the photographic. Currently, the collection is being separated, with the non-photographic material being managed by the manuscript team, still within St Andrews Special Collections, allowing the photographic collection to concentrate on conservation and digitisation of the photographic material.⁹⁹ This allows the large amount of manuscript

⁹⁷ Alistair Scott, “Re-examining the Aims and Context of Raffles’ Photographic Practice” in *Observing Women at Work* (Glasgow: The Glasgow School of Art, 2017) 15.

⁹⁸ Nordstrom interview, 26/10/18.

⁹⁹ Nordstrom interview, 26/10/18.

material to be digitised and made more accessible for research. The manuscript material holds a variety of reports, research, essays, publications and letters concerning her projects and their aims. One example is a Glasgow Women's Aid Annual Report 1991-2, with a coffee mug stain on the front cover (fig. 2.2). Objects such as this that contain traces of Raffles herself, even through a small stain or mark, present a more personal aspect to the collection. This material also demonstrates Raffles' engagement with the topic, her pursuit of knowledge on the issues raised in her projects, and her desire to create socially charged images based on this information.

Due to the large number of negatives within the Raffles collection, the selection currently online has been scanned on an individual basis, which will eventually lead to full digitisation of the collection. The available selection is restricted to what has been researched or exhibited, which gives access to a selection of Raffles' work across her photographic series based on the areas that have already been researched by others.¹⁰⁰ Further digitisation will allow more opportunities for this collection to be researched, enabling more attention to be given to Raffles' unique body of work. Whilst digitisation is an important aspect of archives, the collection pays great attention to both the digital and physical side of collection material. Digitising a photograph preserves it in the sense of the image itself, however, 'neglecting the original photograph once it is digitized is comparable to deciding that a painting can be left to deteriorate once a good reproduction exists.'¹⁰¹ The photograph as a material object is important to maintain in the physical archive, as well as the digital archive. In some cases of digitising a large collection, it can be said that 'digital engagements elide the history of the

¹⁰⁰ Nordstrom interview, 26/10/18.

¹⁰¹ Lavedrine, *Photographs of the Past: Process and Preservation*, 306.

collection ... effectively producing an online picture library dominated by content.’¹⁰²

However, benefiting from the consideration given to the Raffles collection by the St Andrews archive’s digital aspect of the Raffles collection including the manuscript material, the materiality of the collection will be acknowledged in its digital presence. By digitising additional material such as the contact sheets, the digital collection provides an in-depth view of Raffles’ work and practice. This will enable online researchers to comprehend the collection in its entirety, rather than only viewing previously publicised material.

The materiality of the Raffles collection enables a detailed view of her photographic practice, as well as being a rich resource for her projects. Amao states that ‘academic research has drawn attention to the potential of working intimately with the various forms of material objects that populate the field of photography – contact sheets, prints, negatives and so forth.’¹⁰³ The Raffles’ collection is a prime example of this; being acquired by the St Andrews collection in its unorganised state may have initially posed archival issues, but this disparate materiality of the Raffles collection creates a richer body of work. The large amount of material and the number of projects Raffles covered provide a thorough account of her career as a photographer who fully engaged with each subject she worked with. Holding the complete collection allows for an in-depth investigation into Raffles’ whole photographic career, whereas other collections that are organised by the photographer themselves may not include such important supplementary material, such as the previously discussed Cowie

¹⁰² Elizabeth Edwards and Christopher Morton, “Between Art and Information: Towards a Collecting History of Photographs,” in *Photographs, Museums, Collections: Between Art and Information*, eds. Elizabeth Edwards and Christopher Morton (London: Bloomsbury, 2015) 18.

¹⁰³ Amao, “To Collect and Preserve Negatives: The Eli Lotar Collection at the Centre Georges Pompidou,” 242.

collection. In Raffles' case, the material aspects in the collection are even more valuable for providing a personal link to Raffles herself, her notes especially conveying a biographical element to the collection, creating a sense of her character and concerns in her absence. The varied collection material provides access to both the photographic context of the image and to Raffles' life as a photographer. With this materiality in mind, the collection allows for an in-depth investigation in to Raffles' work, establishing her place within Scottish documentary traditions.

Photographic Projects

The photographic projects Raffles created during her career demonstrate not only her technical ability to create engaging photographs that documented Scottish society, but also shows her involvement with the subjects depicted. Projects such as *To Let You Understand...*, documenting women's working lives in Edinburgh, are strong pieces of documentary work, aiming to change the issues raised within the project. Raffles' work displays her dedication to women's rights and lives from the beginning of her photographic career, an interest that she would carry with her throughout her photographic works through projects such as *Women Workers* and *Lot's Wife* in the USSR, and the *Zero Tolerance* campaign in Edinburgh. This feminist engagement in Raffles' work can be said to be in line with the work of many second wave feminist artists during the 1970s and 1980s. By the mid-1960s, women photographers had 'begun to direct their work towards a women's audience which establishment channels overlooked.'¹⁰⁴ The progression of feminist photography in Britain during this time coincided

¹⁰⁴ Val Williams, *Women Photographers: The Other Observers 1900 to the Present* (London: Virago Press Ltd, 1986) 167.

with the ‘resurgence of interest in photography as an art form and as a communicator,’¹⁰⁵ prompting feminist engagement with the medium.

A group of women photographers that predate Raffles are The Hackney Flashers, a collective set up in 1974 of women who defined themselves as broadly socialist-feminist.¹⁰⁶ The Hackney Flashers created projects that focused on working-class women’s living and working conditions in Hackney, offering ‘a distinct feminist contribution to the field of photography in 1970s Britain,’¹⁰⁷ and raising awareness of such issues by means of a significant body of feminist work. In 1975 the group produced *Women and Work*, a ‘photographic exhibition of black and white prints and hand-written text making visible the huge, hidden role that women played in the economy, and making an argument for equal pay.’¹⁰⁸ The exhibition made use of text alongside the photographs to emphasise women’s conditions and add a personal element to the work. As with many of Raffles’ own projects, the exhibition was shown in local venues, such as Hackney Town Hall, making the images accessible to the female audience they wished to address through the photographs of their own conditions.

As Raffles’ work such as the *To Let You Understand...* project was made in the late 1980s, this can be said to be following on from this momentum in women’s documentary

¹⁰⁵ Williams, *Women Photographers: The Other Observers 1900 to the Present*, 170.

¹⁰⁶ Hackney Flashers, “Work of a Women’s Collective 1974-1980,” accessed 14/1/18.

<https://hackneyflashers.com/history/>.

¹⁰⁷ Na’ama Klorman-Eraqi, “The Hackney Flashers: Photography as a Socialist Feminist Endeavour,” *Photography and Culture*, 10, no. 1 (2017): 65.

¹⁰⁸ Hackney Flashers, “Work of a Women’s Collective 1974-1980.”

photography. The work of feminist photographers such as The Hackney Flashers led to the ‘emergence of a new, directly political women’s photography ... an opportunity for women photographers not only to contribute to the course of photographic history, but also determine it.’¹⁰⁹ Raffles can be seen as an important frontrunner in this new women’s photography that has engendered a feminist concern with documentary photographic practice.

To Let You Understand...

One of Raffles’ earliest projects in Scotland was *To Let You Understand...*, a project commissioned by the Edinburgh District Council Women’s Committee in 1987. The project aimed to ‘document women’s working lives in Edinburgh, informed by statistical information about pay and conditions collected by the Women’s Unit.’¹¹⁰ Raffles made images in a vast number of workplaces, ranging from Edinburgh institutions such as Jenners and the George Hotel, to dry cleaners, hairdressers and factories such as Burton’s Biscuits and Millar’s Sweets. The project was brought together in May 1988 and became an exhibition and accompanying publication. This was launched at the Royal Commonwealth Pool in Edinburgh before touring community venues over the following year.¹¹¹ By examining the publication booklet¹¹² the aim and impact of the project becomes apparent, as well as Raffles’ sensitivity towards the subjects.

¹⁰⁹ Williams, *Women Photographers: The Other Observers 1900 to the Present*, 184.

¹¹⁰ The Franki Raffles Archive, “To Let You Understand....,” accessed 15/1/18.

<http://www.frankirafflesarchive.org/projects/to-let-you-understand/>.

¹¹¹ Scott, “Re-examining the Aims and Context of Raffles’ Photographic Practice,” 16.

¹¹² ‘To Let You Understand’ publication available in PDF form at <http://www.frankirafflesarchive.org/projects/to-let-you-understand/>

The booklet contains fifteen of Raffles' images, along with statistics relating to women's work rights and general well-being collected by the Women's Unit. The cover image of the publication shows a woman with her back to the camera in a factory, with glass bottles lined up on a conveyor belt in front of her (fig. 2.3). The woman rests her head on her hands and reaches for one of the bottles, which suggests a weariness with the task ahead of her. The black and white tones of the photograph depicting the light and shadows of the industrial surroundings leads the woman to appear to blend in to her environment. Many of Raffles' images for this project portray similar industrial landscapes, displaying the mundane everyday of factory work that many women workers experience. The booklet describes the project as concentrating on the work that 'the majority of women do,' stating that 'for the first time in Scotland, the exhibition has given women a chance to put on record how they feel about their work and their lives.'¹¹³ Raffles' represents these women through her photographs in a way that portrays their lives and the issues they face in this important commission. Raffles' previous engagement with women's rights and activist groups show her concern and knowledge with this subject, creating an impactful series of images that presents strong photographic material as well as actively seeking change for women's everyday lives.

Interlaced with Raffles' photographs are the statistics gathered by the Edinburgh District Council Women's Committee. The statistics provide rates of youth employment, birth rates in women under twenty, nursery places, part-time workers, rates of pay and welfare benefits. Reading these statistics show the harsh reality many women were facing and hints towards the political climate of the time, the project being made at the height of Thatcherism.

¹¹³ Evelyn Gillan, Elaine Samson, Franki Raffles and June Bell, *To Let You Understand...* (Edinburgh District Council Women's Committee, 1988).

However, this gloomy statistical information is published alongside quotes from the women involved with the project, and this inclusion of quotes alongside Raffles' images enriches the booklet with a sense of the character and strength of the subjects.

The quotes are written in a bold font, standing out from the other statistical text, describing daily routines, work conditions, the women's opinions of their situations. For example, a 'Part-Time Worker' in the retail industry (fig. 2.4) is quoted as saying 'Lots of women go out to work at night when he's in the look after the bairns – if you have to pay the childminder you can't afford to work – it's the only way to do it.'¹¹⁴ The pictured woman reaches up as she stacks supermarket shelves with nappies, aptly illustrating the focus of work and childcare. The quote not only provides information in the form of context for the woman's situation but adds a personal dimension to the work as these concerns are shared, giving each woman a voice. Martha Rosler states that 'quotation can be understood as confessional, betraying an anxiety about meaning in the face of the living world.'¹¹⁵ In this case, the use of quotations alongside Raffles' work to highlights social inequality and reveals the struggles and anxieties women face, affecting aspects of everyday life for many of the project's subjects. Reinforcing the aims of the project, these quotations also add a human element to the photographs, allowing the viewer to relate to the subjects through these social anxieties that remain pertinent today.

Although many subjects of the booklet could be seen as bleak, Raffles' photographs show that the women depicted retain their own sense of character and determination in difficult

¹¹⁴ Gillan, Samson, Raffles, Bell, *To Let You Understand...*, 6.

¹¹⁵ Rosler, "In, Around, and Afterthoughts (On documentary photography)," 89.

roles. Two female workers in a food manufacturing factory are shown laughing, with the large machines enclosing them on every side, encompassed by their industrial surroundings (fig. 2.5). The quote describes uncertainty towards employment rights and pensions - important issues that will surely affect the women's lives. However, the image gives a sense of strong working women, retaining their individuality and acknowledging their workers' rights. The use of quotes with these images indicates that, as Rosler also states, 'the homage of quotation is capable of signalling not self-effacement but rather a strengthening or consolidating resolve.'¹¹⁶ Raffles' photographs portray the subjects as strong women, the quotes alongside them confirming this resolve of making a living within challenging working environments. Their participation in such a project shows a stoic desire to fight for change to these conditions. Raffles' attentive depiction of this through her photographs not only convey this, but demonstrates her own determination to produce photographic work to aid women workers.

The last image of the booklet emphasises willingness to fight for change. A woman is pictured holding a board protesting the poll tax, with a knowing expression of defiance on her face (fig. 2.6). The quote echoes the title of the project, a phrase often repeated to Raffles in each workplace: 'to let you understand, in those days you could make something out of nothing.'¹¹⁷ Describing past difficulties and the new issues facing society, her quote ends with a sentiment that reverberates throughout the booklet: 'just the other day I got one hundred pensioners to sign against the Poll Tax. I said to them, "it's no use moaning, you

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Gillan, Samson, Raffles, Bell, *To Let You Understand....*

have to do something about it.” Aye, you’re never done fighting.’¹¹⁸ Ending the booklet with this image and quote solidifies the message of the project and its aim to alter the stated statistical facts of women workers in Edinburgh, in order to improve the average woman’s life. The addition of the accompanying text shows the range of the project in the context of the time it was made, highlighting the real issues of women’s everyday lives in a way that allowed them to express their thoughts.

The booklet exemplifies the *To Let You Understand...* project, displaying Raffles’ selection of her best prints for exhibition and publication, as well as providing the contextual information that places the images in their own social and cultural context. As well as being available online, the St Andrews Photographic Collection holds three physical copies of this booklet, and a smaller pamphlet featuring more statistics on women’s working and living conditions. The images included are also available on the Franki Raffles Archive website,¹¹⁹ as well as being digitised and accessible through the St Andrews Photographic Collection’s online archive.

In terms of the materiality of the *To Let You Understand...* collection, St Andrews holds manuscript material including the booklets, as well as objects such as contemporary newspaper reviews of the exhibition. In terms of photographic material, the archive holds all of Raffles’ original negatives and contact sheets, and several loose prints. As previously discussed, the negatives are vital to the collection as original photographic material made by Raffles. The supplementary photographic material such as the contact sheets have their own

¹¹⁸ Gillan, Samson, Raffles, Bell, *To Let You Understand....*

¹¹⁹ See <http://www.frankirafflesarchive.org/projects/to-let-you-understand/>

value as material objects in this project that can be used to study and evaluate Raffles' photographic practice.

The preservation of Raffles' contact sheets is valuable as they highlight her favourite or selected shots for the project through the marks she made on them. For example, a series of images taken in the Royal Infirmary in Edinburgh is seen over a number of contact sheets, demonstrating Raffles experimenting with capturing the dramatic interior of the checked flooring as well as including the women working in the hospital (fig. 2.7). The final image chosen is shown by a red mark on the contact sheet, which is an image digitised on the Franki Raffles Archive website as part of the series (fig. 2.8). The photograph shows two women walking through a corridor in the hospital, their white coats marking the women's profession. The women move away from the dark foreground, the tiles on the floor creating lines up towards them, drawing the eye to the lighter half of the image where the women are. The contact sheet shows multiple image of the same scene, as Raffles continues to capture the women walking in order to get the best shot.

The same contact sheet shows other images taken by Raffles at the hospital. Another image is marked by a red cross, depicting a woman in surgical scrubs next to a patient on a surgeon's table (fig. 2.9). As she stands surrounded by medical equipment and drug cabinets, the image portrays a sense of quiet stoicism, as the woman assists the patient who is heavily bandaged. Raffles singles out this shot from a number of similar images, pointing towards her choices of subjects for the final prints. However, this image remains un-digitised and does not appear in the *To Let You Understand...* series. Therefore, inspecting Raffles' contact sheets in the archive reveals valuable images such as this, outside of the main series of photographs published for the project. In the vast number of negatives Raffles made, the contact sheets

provide a more accessible way to view these images that are not currently digitised. This can uncover hidden gems in Raffles work, and lead to a reinterpretation of her subjects within her documentary photography.

As well as women in the workplace, these contact sheets show Raffles' engagement with issues surrounding motherhood. For example, there are four contact sheets with notes stating their subjects, presenting women with their children in everyday settings. 'Alison and Stairs' is two contact sheets showing a woman attempting to transport a pram up and down stairs, whilst 'Joan and Twins' contains two series of negatives showing a woman struggling with a double pram with her two children, struggling with double doors in a shop. Another series portrays her bundling the pram onto a bus (fig. 2.10). Raffles captures Joan in a sequence that shows her trying to pick up both children and the pram in order to get them on to the bus. Some images show her hair swept back by the wind, the discomfort of this struggle palpable from each image. The number of negatives made on this topic shows Raffles' desire to communicate the daily struggles women face; even actions that are perceived as simple such as taking their children with them around the city posed logistical issues. This also exemplifies Raffles' interaction with the subjects, working with the women pictured to translate their daily struggles into visual form.

Viewing these contact sheets as opposed to individual prints prompts a different assessment of Raffles' work. Schwartz argues that 'differences in form and function neither preclude the place of photographs in archives nor deny their status as documents. They do not make

photographs special – or less archival – only different.’¹²⁰ Rather than seeing contact sheets as lesser photographic material, they can be valued in their own way. The material provides a view of the photographs as a sequence, rather than single images. This functions in a similar way to how Raffles would have used the contact sheets, inspecting each image to decide which to print. This emphasises the fact that the material was a working collection when it came to the archive which can now be utilised as such by viewing the material in a similar way to Raffles’ own practice.

To Let You Understand... is a significant body of work within Raffles’ collection. The project stands as a document of women in Edinburgh in this specific social and political climate, providing a first-hand account of the issues discussed. The materiality of this project enables a wider context to the subjects included. Specifically, the contact sheets, especially those showing her own marking and choices, are valuable photographic material in the way that the images are displayed. Investigating supposed supplementary photographic material in this case allows for a re-evaluation of the photographs through this form. This material enables a larger view of the series through the vast number of negatives and gives an insight into Raffles’ working practice as a photographer. This project is significant in placing Raffles in a tradition of Scottish documentary photography, specifically that of a female photography tradition within the medium. Creating a series that focuses on women in Scotland and the challenges they face, Raffles’ documentary of this topic shows a feminist concern that runs through her photographic work following this project.

¹²⁰ Schwartz, “‘We make our tools and our tools make us’: Lessons from Photographs for the Practice, Politics and Poetics of Diplomats,” 52.

Zero Tolerance

A subsequent photographic project based in Edinburgh that Raffles worked on in this same line of feminist photography is *Zero Tolerance* - a photographic campaign that aimed to raise awareness of men's violence towards women and children. Zero Tolerance is a charity established by Raffles and Evelyn Gillian, along with a group of women that came together through working on Edinburgh District Council Women's Committee projects in the 1980s,¹²¹ around the time Raffles was working on *To Let You Understand*. Launched in 1992 by Edinburgh District Council, the campaign used Raffles' photographs alongside stark facts on abuse and violence against women and children in the form of posters distributed throughout the city as 'public photography on a large-scale.'¹²² Zero Tolerance continues its work as a charity to this date, building on the foundations that Raffles helped to create.

The first photographic campaign, *Prevalence*, used photographs taken by Raffles of women in domestic settings, speaking to the mass-public as relatable, everyday figures. The charity states that the photographs conveyed the ideal that 'in line with the principles of Zero Tolerance, only strong, positive images of women were used in the posters. This helps to convey the message that much violence against women is unseen, unheard and unspoken.'¹²³ As with *To Let You Understand*, Raffles photographs create imagery of women in a way that

¹²¹ The Franki Raffles Archive, "Zero Tolerance," accessed 20/1/18.

<http://www.frankirafflesarchive.org/projects/zero-tolerance/>.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Zero Tolerance, "Prevalence Campaign," accessed 20/1/18.

<http://www.zerotolerance.org.uk/resources/prevalence-campaign/>.

emphasises their situation without portraying them as victims. In both projects this stresses the everyday-ness of issues that seem shocking but that are a struggle for many women.

One poster for the campaign shows a woman relaxing in front of a fire, reading magazines on the floor (fig. 2.11). The photograph could almost be said to capture domestic bliss, with the setting of the well decorated living room creating a relaxing and cosy feel to the image. The room is presented as a haven, with the woman occupying it at ease with her surroundings. This makes the text presented with the photograph even more startling; the bold white text standing out from the black background surrounding the image reads ‘She lives with a successful business man, loving father and respected member of the community. Last week he hospitalised her’. The text confronts the viewer and calls for a reassessment of the photograph, disrupting the notion of peaceful domesticity in a way that ‘challenges the widely accepted myth that domestic violence only occurs in working class households.’¹²⁴ The poster highlights that domestic abuse can happen in everyday settings, with Raffles’ portrayal of a woman in an apparently safe and idyllic environment.

The campaign also raised awareness of men’s violence against children; another poster shows two young girls lounging on the floor, surrounded by toys (fig. 2.12). Again, the photograph could be said to be showing an idealised view of the girls and their surroundings, as they are smartly dressed, playing with dolls, building bricks and other toys, creating a serene picture of girlhood. As with the previous poster, this is disrupted by the text stating the horrifying statistic that ‘By the time they reach eighteen, one of them will have been subjected to sexual abuse’. The setting and the subjects are used to challenge the perceived

¹²⁴ Ibid.

notion of childhood, using two girls to highlight the statistic and giving the poster further impact. The charity states that ‘the definition of child sexual abuse is carefully chosen to make the point that all forms of sexual abuse of children – from flashing to rape – are damaging and part of a continuum of abuse.’¹²⁵ The portrayal of these two girls alongside this information aims to raise awareness of a range of abuse that occurs in everyday settings. Raffles’ portrayal of domesticated and relatable scenes made the campaign images shocking in their middle-class familiarity. Alongside the text, Raffles’ images created posters that give a lasting impression, which led to the campaign to have an ‘immediate impact with commentators and the general public.’¹²⁶ Raffles’ photographs and the graphic design of the posters and text come together to create eye-catching material that effectively informs viewers of the campaign’s concerns.

Raffles’ photographs, alongside additional posters using the same bold white text on a black background, were shown on ‘billboards, adshel sites, buses and distributed to shops, restaurants and pubs as well as local council venues such as libraries, community centres and council buildings.’¹²⁷ A photograph captured by Raffles of the campaign posters running down Princes Street towards the Scott Monument shows the scope of the project and the public significance the city of Edinburgh gave to the campaign (fig. 2.13). The campaign gained regional and national media attention, with events, talks and debates run by the charity further raising the profile of the project. Raffles’ photographs played an important part in the

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ The Franki Raffles Archive, “Zero Tolerance.”

¹²⁷ Zero Tolerance, “Prevalence Campaign.”

visual impact of this project; her ability to capture female subjects in a way that shows them as individuals, rather than singled out as victims, enabled these images to be relatable and relevant, even when viewed many years after the Prevalence campaign. As with *To Let You Understand...*, Raffles makes photographs that highlight issues affecting women in Scotland and fight for women's rights in society.

In terms of *Zero Tolerance* as a charity, its work still continues to this day to raise awareness of violence and assisting women affected by it. Recently, the charity revived its links with photographic campaign material by working with the photographer Alicia Bruce to create a new project, *Violence Unseen*, expanding on Raffles' work with current issues that are affecting women in Britain. Bruce, a Scottish photographer herself, has her own work in the St Andrews Photographic Collection, emphasising the link between these two women photographers working in Scotland and the interweaving connections of Scottish documentary photography. Bruce's portfolio *Menie: Trumped* kept at the St Andrews archive documents the distressing effects of Trump's golf course on the lives of the Scottish residents in the small town, with a sensitivity towards her subjects that is reminiscent of the approach Raffles used in her own work. Bruce's awareness of Raffles' photography and her progressive work in founding the charity is reflected in her series; 'I was at primary school when the Zero Tolerance initiative was launched over 25 years ago and I still remember the impact of the original campaign; it really shifted my mindset about things that were normalised that shouldn't be.'¹²⁸ The project was displayed in September 2018 at Stills in Edinburgh (fig. 2.14), a space in which Raffles had her own work featured in the exhibition

¹²⁸ Alicia Bruce, "Violence Unseen Exhibition at Stills," accessed 23/10/19.
<https://aliciabruce.co.uk/blog-1/2018/9/2/violence-unseen-exhibition>.

Picturing Women in 1989.¹²⁹ Bruce's images also use statistics and information to emphasise each issue at hand, alongside quotes from the women portrayed. Bruce states she made the images 'working in the spirit of Franki's tableaux,'¹³⁰ drawing from Raffles' original compositions to create new campaign material twenty-five years after the *Prevalence* project. Returning to its photographic roots, the work of Zero Tolerance continues the work that Raffles began, raising issues that are just as relevant today as when Raffles created her own images for the campaign.

The *Zero Tolerance* collection held at the St Andrews Photographic Collection is significant in terms of its materiality, as along with negatives and prints it also contains a large amount of manuscript material that support the campaign's aims and show Raffles' involvement. An important part of any photographic collection is the body of negatives created for the project; the collection includes negatives of the images used for the Zero Tolerance posters. The negatives are large format, which demonstrates the attention given to each image and provides a high level of quality to create large-scale prints. They are arranged in archival sleeves in groups of each subject and setting, showing the number of prints made in order to create the final poster image. Another series of negatives portrays a different woman in the same setting of the well decorated living room, displaying how Raffles experimented with each setting before making her final choices. Working prints of the images are also in the collection, some with crop marks and notes written on them by Raffles. A print of the girls in the playroom features Raffles' handwriting stating where to crop the image and how to blend

¹²⁹ The Franki Raffles Archive, "Timeline," accessed 23/2/18.

<http://www.frankirafflesarchive.org/timeline/>.

¹³⁰ Alicia Bruce, interviewed by Lydia Heeley, personal interview, Edinburgh, 21/11/18.

the black tones of the floorboards to complement the bold black graphic elements of the posters (fig. 2.15). Technical information such as this shows her engagement with the medium, as well as her concern for getting the best image for the posters, acknowledging the importance of the graphic design for creating eye-catching campaign material.

The collection also includes strips of 35mm negatives taken by Raffles documenting the Zero Tolerance campaign, such as shots of the posters on buses, billboards, and in shops and cafes. There are several prints made of these images, the bold 'Z' text standing out amongst other posters sprawled over walls in public settings, on the side of taxis, and looming over streets on large advertising boards. One such image shows a large-scale poster of the woman by the fireplace next to a seated woman at a bus stop (fig. 2.16). These images show the scope of the campaign and its spread across the city. This material also demonstrates Raffles' engagement with the charity and dedication to the campaign material; Raffles takes many shots of a passing bus to get the best image of the campaign poster spread across it. The inclusion of this material in the collection gives the campaign and its documentation an extra dimension by documenting the distribution and display of the posters, as well as making evident the time and effort Raffles herself assigned to it.

Much of the manuscript material in the Zero Tolerance collection is research material gathered by Raffles to inform the project. This includes statistics and reports, such as the previously discussed coffee-stained Glasgow Women's Aid Annual Report from the year when the campaign was launched. This material demonstrates Raffles' engagement with women's rights and her desire to create a well-informed series documenting the issues surrounding violence against women. Also included are smaller, more portable information cards made for the campaign (fig. 2.17). Some include Raffles' photographs, whereas others

use the bold 'Z' logo. The back of the cards contains additional statistics on a range of types of abuse and information on where to get support. The distribution of cards such as these emphasise the aims of the campaign and range of topics covered, exemplifying 'an innovative campaign delivering a feminist message to a mass audience, that women of all ages and from every background were at risk.'¹³¹ Such material demonstrates the scope of the project and the distribution of its material, and informs the photographic material with this contextual information.

Some of the most personal manuscript items are Raffles' notebooks. The notebooks pertaining to *Zero Tolerance* contain information on the Prevalence campaign and Raffles' involvement with it. Pages are torn, lists and notes scatter the pages in Raffles' handwriting, giving an intimate view of her thoughts and tasks associated with the campaign. Tag lines for the posters are written, crossed out and re-written as Raffles experiments with the phrasing and its potential impact. Many poster mock-ups are drawn on to the pages, experimenting with the spacing and placement of the text and Raffles' photographs. In between these are to do lists, budgets, notes from meetings, invoices and important deadlines and dates. One such example shows various notes on the project in a small notebook (fig. 2.18). Numbers and prices are written on the top half along with a sketch of the *Zero Tolerance* 'Z' logo, with to-do lists and appointments scrawled on the lower half, and a small stain of tea or coffee again marking one corner of the page. Flicking through these notebooks gives a strong sense of Raffles' dedication to the campaign and women's rights; Raffles' notes are so detailed that the project appears to have been a full-time pursuit. An archive holding this kind of

¹³¹ Scott, "Rediscovering Feminist Photographer Franki Raffles," 58.

manuscript material is significant in terms of the information it carries, but additionally ‘these forms of materiality carry another element, the physical traces of usage and time.’¹³² Raffles’ own handwriting, torn pages and coffee stains are all signs of Raffles herself, traces of her thoughts and actions at this time in her life. The archive comprises material objects such as this made all the more poignant after her premature death.

The materiality of the Zero Tolerance collection enables viewers and researchers of this material to form a strong sense of Raffles’ own character, whilst providing additional information and context to the projects. The Raffles collection is significant in this way as ‘it’s much rarer to have an artist’s full archive ... the manuscript side of things, those are all important to the whole story of the Franki Raffles collection.’¹³³ The range of material in the collection held within the St Andrews collection is vital for this reason and allows more in-depth research opportunities on Raffles’ work due to the amount of supplementary and personal material related to each project. The materiality of the collection gives a stronger sense of Raffles as a photographer and an activist, providing evidence of her documentary practice as regards both to her subjects, and her engagement with each project in terms of the social issues raised by them. The two projects discussed, focussing on the lives of Scottish residents, show the place of Raffles as a Scottish documentarist at this time, the materiality of the collection emphasising this with the additional material that displays Raffles’ dedication to every project.

¹³² Edwards and Hart, “Introduction: photographs as objects,” 3.

¹³³ Nordstrom interview, 26/10/18.

Observing Women at Work

The significance of the materiality of the Raffles collection raised here is relatable in terms of viewers' specific approaches to the archives and this material. However, to enable a larger audience for this work, collaborations with other institutions draw further attention to Raffles' contribution. In 2017, the Glasgow School of Art curated a show of Raffles' work entitled *Observing Women at Work*, in collaboration with the Franki Raffles Estate, Edinburgh Napier University, and St Andrews Special Collections. On display was a selection of prints from *To Let You Understand...*, *Women Workers, Russia*, one of Raffles' Soviet Union projects, and material from the first *Zero Tolerance* campaign, *Prevalence*. The exhibition took place from the 4th of March to the 27th of April 2017 in the Reid Gallery at the Glasgow School of Art. Throughout the duration of the exhibition there were also events, tours and a symposium to promote further the exhibition and Raffles' work as a feminist photographer. The exhibition coincided with twenty-fifth anniversary of the Zero Tolerance campaign, as well as coinciding with International Women's Day.¹³⁴

The exhibition also included work by other female photographers, including Margaret Fey Shaw, Helen Muspratt, Doris Ulmann, and material from The Hackney Flasher's *Women and Work* exhibition. Margaret Fey Shaw's work was included as she lived for six years in South Uist, making photographs of the local women that 'record[ed] their daily life in their small community, both at work and at leisure.'¹³⁵ In the 1930s, creating images that link back to Raffles' work on *Lewis Women*, Ulmann similarly shows women working in rural

¹³⁴ Munro, "Introduction," 8.

¹³⁵ Jenny Brownrigg, "Observing Women at Work," in *Observing Women at Work* (Glasgow: The Glasgow School of Art, 2017) 35-36.

surroundings in the Appalachian Mountains in North America. Muspratt's photography is compared to Raffles' *Women at Work, Russia* series with her photographs of women in the Soviet Union in 1936.¹³⁶ The inclusion of this work in the exhibition makes links between Raffles' images and previous photographic series on women at work, placing her in a lineage of feminist photographers in the twentieth century. This also places the work in a documentary tradition of female photographers, countering the male preserve of the profession as previously seen in the time of Cowie.

Similarly, work by The Hackney Flashers was exhibited alongside Raffles' images 'in a bid to explore whether Raffles' work on women and labour could begin to be aligned with a wider wave of UK feminist artists and filmmakers demanding equal rights for women.'¹³⁷ An example from their *Women and Work* exhibition displayed an image of a factory worker alongside text from an advertisement of the time (fig. 2.19), with prices circled in red to show that the retail price of the items exceeded the cost of the labour used to make similar clothes.¹³⁸ This example can be visually linked with Raffles' *To Let You Understand...* publication, although quotes from the project were not included in the exhibition. The comparison of Raffles' work to this feminist collective gives the viewer context of the type of second wave feminism happening before and during Raffles' career, elaborating the issues facing women in Britain at this time, and placing Raffles' practice within this narrative of feminist photography.

¹³⁶ Brownrigg, "Observing Women at Work," 36-38.

¹³⁷ Brownrigg, "Observing Women at Work," 40.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

As the collection held at St Andrews archives is comprised of mainly Raffles' negatives rather than prints, 'the decision was taken to digitally reprint the photographs from scans of negatives.'¹³⁹ The curator of the exhibition, Jenny Brownrigg, made selections from the negatives and contact sheets from the chosen projects, which the St Andrews team then scanned to enable contemporary reprints to be made for the exhibition.¹⁴⁰ This demonstrates the value of holding a photographer's negatives, as the original material made will enable a higher quality scan than a copy of a later print. This allows Raffles' work to be printed on a larger scale for display, presenting a new view of the photographs in this exhibition context. By selecting these images for the exhibition, this also enabled digitised copies of all the prints displayed to be available on the St Andrews Photographic Collection's website. Each image caption in the exhibition contained the accession number for each image, making them accessible to view online at any time. This is significant for the *To Let You Understand...* series, as some photographs had not previously been digitised. As previously discussed, inspecting the negatives and contact sheets for this series can lead to a re-interpretation of Raffles' material. In this case, Brownrigg's selection of Raffles' photographs created new prints of previously unseen material in order to further emphasise Raffles' place within a tradition of feminist documentary photography.

Brownrigg chose well-known Raffles images, such as the woman in a bottle factory that opened the *To Let You Understand...* publication, as well as other photographs of factory workers (fig. 2.20). Most of the images focus on the woman workers depicted as the main subject, displaying her role in the workplace and showing her carrying out these tasks. One

¹³⁹ Brownrigg, "Observing Women at Work," 35.

¹⁴⁰ Nordstrom interview, 26/10/2018.

image entitled *Kvaerner, Govan* (fig. 2.21) depicts a young woman in white posing in dramatic lighting, framed on both sides by the bold architecture of her enclosed desk front, the ledger and scales in the image suggesting her role within the shipbuilding company. The woman is portrayed as a smart, professional working woman in a male-dominated industry. The inclusion of this photograph extends the range of the type of work carried out by the women depicted in the project; from cleaners and factory workers to secretaries and office workers, the exhibition emphasises the female role in work, mirroring Raffles herself as a professional working woman creating images of these women. This striking image was not previously digitised as part of the series, demonstrating the value of new research in to the collection leading to the addition of images such as this. Brownrigg effectively curates an uncurated collection from the archive, bringing together pieces that had been overlooked due to Raffles' untimely passing.

Significantly, the exhibition acknowledged the materiality of the collection, using vitrines to display material such as contact sheets, working prints, and information cards from the Prevalence campaign (fig. 2.22). Brownrigg emphasises the importance of this material in the accompanying publication, stating that these objects 'begin to hint at her hand and process.'¹⁴¹ The display included contact sheets with markings from the *To Let You Understand...* project, presenting Raffles' own selections and the process of capturing the image. Working prints made by Raffles are displayed; placed side by side are prints of the shop worker stacking nappies on shelves, next to a print of a registrar in her white lab coat reaching for some files. This comparison shows the variety of women's roles that Raffles'

¹⁴¹ Brownrigg, "Observing Women at Work," 35.

photographed and the similar difficulties facing women in the workplace. Also exhibited was a typed list made by Raffles, listing locations and businesses where she made images for the project. This gives a sense of her working process, and the selection process from a large number of negatives to best portray the women workers. The Glasgow School of Art's use and display of this material acknowledges the significance of the material to Raffles' practice as a photographer, as well as the importance of displaying aspects of materiality in an exhibition of a photographer's body of work.

The exhibition also included manuscript material for Zero Tolerance, such as prints of the location shots Raffles took of the campaign material in Edinburgh, giving contemporary viewers the context of the public places in which the material was originally displayed. The working print previously described is displayed, emphasising her technical engagement with the medium and extensive consideration of the graphic design of the campaign material. Alongside these photographic materials, several of the information cards made for the campaign are displayed, showing the bold text and statements of the various statistics and taglines used for the campaign. The inclusion of this material in the exhibition space affirms its importance as archive material and engages audiences further with photographic practices and processes, enabling a deeper understanding of Raffles' projects and aims. Willumson argues that 'the privileging of the aesthetics of the image that is the basis for fine art museum exhibitions denies the body of the viewer, just as it denies the physicality of the object being exhibited.'¹⁴² The GSA's use of Raffles' additional photographic material can be said to

¹⁴² Glenn Willumson, "Making meaning: displaced materiality in the library and art museum," in *Photographs, Objects, Histories: On the Materiality of Images*, eds. Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart (London: Routledge, 2004) 69.

mitigate this privileging of the image and draws attention to the materiality of the objects in the Raffles collection. The display of such material expands the traditional idea of photographic material shown in an exhibition, as well as enhancing the audience's knowledge of Raffles through supplementary material on her photographic practice.

During the run of the exhibition, an event called *Art Scrubber* was held by the artist Kate Clayton (fig. 2.23). Clayton performed in the gallery space, cleaning the prints on the wall with various dusters and cloths. The piece was created to express that as the artist 'carefully cleans the mounted images with the tools of her trade, she will acknowledge women's work everywhere, both then and now.'¹⁴³ This relates to several images displayed in the exhibition of cleaners in schools, the Edinburgh District Council building, and the George Hotel. This event further engaged the audience with the gallery space and work displayed, drawing contemporary connections with the working women depicted in Raffles' images. The performance piece also links contemporary feminist artists' practices to Raffles' work. Another event that occurred during the exhibition was a symposium organised by Scott and Brownrigg, held at the Centre for Contemporary Arts in Glasgow, entitled 'Assessing the Impact and Legacy of Feminist Photographer Franki Raffles.' Discussing the importance of feminist thinking and politics to Raffles' photographic practice, this symposium emphasised her importance as a feminist photographer. Both events held in conjunction with the exhibition promote Raffles' photography in new ways, building on the foundations of the collection material exhibited to highlight her work for future audiences.

¹⁴³ Glasgow School of Art, "Event: Art Scrubber: Observing Women at Work," accessed 30/1/18. <http://www.gsa.ac.uk/life/gsa-events/events/a/art-scrubber-observing-women-at-work/?source=archive>.

The exhibition not only emphasised the materiality of Raffles' photographic work, but the collaborative nature of the Raffles collection, with the St Andrews Photographic Collection working with the Glasgow School of Art to best display and promote Raffles' photography. The images and materials displayed by the Glasgow School of Art exemplify the way in which museums and galleries can interact with the materiality of a collection such as Raffles'. This engagement and display of the materials surrounding Raffles' photographic practice emphasise the depth and commitment which she brought to her work, as well as validating the work of the St Andrews archive in preserving this material. The materiality of the archive can enhance the visual images presented through exhibitions such as this, making connections with the context of each project and the thoughts of Raffles herself. As the exhibition demonstrates, this material lends itself to new interpretations, allowing for further explorations and exhibitions of Raffles' work to enhance her standing in the tradition of documentary photography.

Conclusion

The significance of the Franki Raffles collection is twofold. Firstly, the range of projects preserved show the importance of Raffles as a social documentary photographer who created a significant body of feminist work, the projects discussed in terms of fighting for Scottish women's rights. Secondly, the materiality of Raffles collection allowing for the preservation not only of vital original photographic material such as over ninety thousand negatives, but supplementary and manuscript material that manifests the character of Raffles herself within the archive.

Raffles' legacy as a social documentarist and activist is preserved by the St Andrews collection, allowing for this material to be used in future research and campaigns. Many

issues explored by Raffles persist in society today, making her work relevant and important to modern day viewers. Her photographs of working women in Edinburgh provide a document of the lives of Scottish women at this time, illustrating this in a more personal manner with the inclusion of quotations from the women. Raffles' work with Zero Tolerance built the foundations of a charity that is still active today. Her photographic work for the charity created an important photography-based body of work fighting against violence towards women. This demonstrates the enduring contribution to the second wave of feminist photography and its current relevance, placing her own work within the tradition of artists such as The Hackney Flashers. Raffles' photographic practice positions her within a line of feminist documentarists by showing her engagement with and commitment to each of her projects.

Whilst the collection came to the archive suddenly due to her passing, denying Raffles herself the decisions of what material to give to the collection, the work done by her estate and the St Andrews archive have led this collection to become a unique example of a photographic career. This is heightened by Raffles' supplementary material, emphasising the ways in which materiality within an archive can enhance the appreciation of a photographer's body of work. Highlighting the importance of regarding all aspects of photographic material within collections, this large varied collection of materials also enables greater depth of research for scholars looking at the collection, as well as encouraging a re-imagination of the photographs through exhibitions displaying both her images and practice such as the *Observing Women at Work* exhibition. The Franki Raffles collection provides a significant contribution to Scottish documentary photography through her feminist work and is a unique addition to the St Andrews Photographic Collection due to the diverse materiality of her archive.

Document Scotland and the Digital Archive

Introduction

A collective of photographers creating work on social issues and events in Scotland today, Document Scotland captures images covering a wide range of Scottish culture and tradition. The group builds on Scotland's history of documentary photography, creating contemporary images that follow Scotland's 'rich tradition of producing outstanding work by a multitude of committed, passionate and skilful photographers.'¹⁴⁴ Established in 2012, the collective aims to explore events and stories throughout Scotland as a nation. The driving factor of the group's formation was the Scottish Independence Referendum in September 2014, the collective recognising that 'this single event will focus much of the world's attention on Scotland, both in the lead-up and aftermath of the vote.'¹⁴⁵ The collective's photographic work represents Scottish society both in the homeland and abroad, with many projects from the group being published and exhibited worldwide, promoting Scotland to an international audience.

The collective is currently formed of five photographers, each creating work in Scotland and abroad: Colin McPherson, Jeremy Sutton-Hibbert, Sophie Gerrard, Stephen McLaren, and Sarah Amy Fishlock. These Scots-born photographers are internationally acclaimed, and all

¹⁴⁴ Document Scotland, "About Document Scotland," accessed 21/3/18.

<http://www.documentscotland.com/scottish-documentary-photography-about/>.

¹⁴⁵ St Andrews Photographic Collection, "Document Scotland Photographic Collection," accessed 21/3/18. [https://www.st-](https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/imu/imu.php?request=display&port=45179&id=4049&flag=start&offset=0&sort=date)

[andrews.ac.uk/imu/imu.php?request=display&port=45179&id=4049&flag=start&offset=0&sort=date
&count=20&listcount=20&view=list&ecatalogue=on&departmentfilter=Special%20Collections&val
ue1=document%20scotland%20photographic%20collection&column1=keywords](https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/imu/imu.php?request=display&port=45179&id=4049&flag=start&offset=0&sort=date&count=20&listcount=20&view=list&ecatalogue=on&departmentfilter=Special%20Collections&value1=document%20scotland%20photographic%20collection&column1=keywords).

share the common interest of using photography to document social, economic and cultural subjects. The vast range of experience and critical attention drawn by each Document Scotland member is testament to their photographic abilities and reinforces the importance of the collective in producing documentary photographic work in this tradition of Scottish photography.

Each photographer's engagement with the social aspects of their projects is significant in that a sense of Scotland's heritage and culture is embodied in each work. Current political climates add to this sense of importance, as the collective members themselves acknowledge:

Scotland today stands at a decisive moment in its history. Events over the next few years will shape how we relate to neighbours and to the wider world. Document Scotland believe that photography can and should play a central part in documenting this epoch. Our aspiration is to make work and engage in discourse which will form a vital component of the history and conversation of our nation tomorrow.¹⁴⁶

This statement emphasises the importance of recent Scottish history and the photographers' desire to document the effects on the country for posterity. Document Scotland's work in this field highlights Scottish documentary photography's past importance and towards its future, creating a body of work that encompasses the culture of Scotland for its own inhabitants and the wider world.

The Document Scotland collection held with St Andrews is significant in that as well as holding the traditional physical material of photographic prints, the majority of the collection

¹⁴⁶ Document Scotland, "About Document Scotland."

is digital material. The digital files are given by the photographers themselves. This action could be a sign of the future of photographic collections; the photographers themselves provide the digital versions of images rather than the archive having to laboriously digitise each collection. However, this raises issues within the collection as to how to preserve and efficiently use these files owing to the new challenges faced by archives and institutions using digital photography for display purposes. Digital files can be perceived as more stable and permanent than physical prints or negatives, yet there are complications with digital files such as loss of quality and dealing with ever-evolving formats that could affect digital collections. Document Scotland's collection is an ideal case study with which to discuss these issues, as it is contemporary digital work that is currently being produced and stored within the archive on an ongoing basis.

The work created by the collective supports the St Andrews Photographic Collection's mandate to represent the cultural history and transformation of Scotland.¹⁴⁷ The fact that this work is adding to the modern history of the archive is self-evident in that it enlivens the archive by informing the collection with images of current events. Whereas many collections are received posthumously or as one-off donations, Document Scotland's work enables a collaboration which benefits each party in the process of creating and preserving contemporary photography. Document Scotland's work equally aligns with the archive's emphasis on creating a dialogue within the photographic works to promote and educate viewers on Scottish photography through the photographers' engagement with the archive itself. The collective provides a basis for potential research and teaching opportunities, as

¹⁴⁷ St Andrews Photographic Collection, "Photographic Collection Mandate."

examples of contemporary Scottish photographic work. As the collective states, ‘we hope to leave a visual document, a testimony to the extraordinary times we are living in’¹⁴⁸ - a hope that the St Andrews Photographic Collection can facilitate and promote in a way which benefits both photographer and archive.

The Document Scotland collection is an important acquisition for St Andrews as it provides a contemporary body of work that invigorates an historic archive by covering current events. The collective adds to this history whilst building on contemporary documentary practices. This documentary photography has shifted from that of Cowie and even of Raffles, presenting a modern coverage of the Scottish nation in a way that is closely linked with the landscape of the country. National identity is a theme that runs throughout the collective’s work, following traditional notions of the Scottish landscape with a critical contemporary view. As the collective recently stated, ‘although still rooted in many traditions of the past, one-eyed, lopsided romanticism has given way to glorious reinvention and innovative thinking.’¹⁴⁹ This innovation is apparent in their exploration of Scotland and the documentary approach assigned to these projects. The collective’s work is an ideal case study with which to examine contemporary documentary photography and its relationship to the archive, in respect of the photographers’ input, and the materiality, or lack thereof, in a digital archive. The implications of a digital archive created in collaboration with working photographers and the changing nature of contemporary documentary photography in Scotland will be discussed in this chapter.

¹⁴⁸ Document Scotland, “About Document Scotland.”

¹⁴⁹ Document Scotland, “A Contested Land,” accessed 12/1/19. <http://www.documentscotland.com/a-contested-land-scotland-photographers/>.

The Digital Archive

The Document Scotland collection was acquired by the St Andrews Photographic Collection in 2014 and currently consists of 108 photographic prints and 271 digital files. The collection includes several projects by McPherson, Sutton-Hibbert, Gerrard and McLaren. The prints are a selection of the projects from each photographer's work, whereas the digital files are the complete archive of each body of work given at the time. The collection was acquired when Marc Boulay approached the collective, leading to the acquisition of the collective's projects in 2014 and in 2017.¹⁵⁰

The prints are presented in a fine art photography tradition as large format portfolios of finely detailed and coloured photographs. This aspect of the collection can be said to be a more traditional way of presenting photography in an archive, providing material objects to be displayed for researchers and the public. These prints carry with them their own issues of preservation, as colour prints can deteriorate over time and lose vibrancy.¹⁵¹ Early digital inkjet prints were prone to rapid colour fading, but 'new generations of ink sets and substrates are believed to equal current chromogenic process papers for light stability.'¹⁵² Photographic prints are stored in dark conditions to lessen the deterioration and fading of colour caused by light exposure.

The deterioration of this material is somewhat mitigated by the acquisition of the original digital files, as high-quality digital prints can be made at any time. This digital material is

¹⁵⁰ Rachel Nordstrom, interviewed by Lydia Heeley, personal interview, St Andrews, 2/11/18.

¹⁵¹ Lavedrine, *Photographs of the Past: Process and Preservation*, 275.

¹⁵² Lavedrine, *Photographs of the Past: Process and Preservation*, 296.

easily reproducible, thus allowing flexibility in the use and reproduction of the works for display or exhibition purposes. This digital aspect can be said to be an asset to the modern photography archive by avoiding many issues of physical material in terms of storage and deterioration through the use of digital image files. Another value of a digital archive is, as Nordstrom states, that ‘there is not really a timeline between acquiring a digital archive and actually having it go on to the internet for people to see, or in to our database.’¹⁵³ The digital archive has an immediacy to it, rather than the archives having to painstakingly digitise a collection over a long period of time.

However, the print aspect of the collection is an important part of the archive, as having prints in a collection is ‘specifically a nod to the teaching and public access part of it.’¹⁵⁴ This shows the collective’s engagement with the teaching and research aspect of the archive, and their forethought in providing such material for the archive’s use. This allows examples of their work to be used ‘if we’re having a class or some sort of event where we want to show different parts of documentary photography, digital doesn’t really have the same effect [when] projecting an image on to a wall.’¹⁵⁵ The prints provide a materiality that engages the viewer in a more direct way than viewing an image on a screen, this materiality adding an important quality to the Document Scotland collection. A recent example of this is a talk given by Stephen McLaren to a group of St Andrews students on his series *Jamaica: A Sweet Forgetting*. McLaren discussed the project, recently acquired by the archive, showing digital images on a screen before presenting the portfolio of prints (fig. 3.1). Students were able to

¹⁵³ Rachel Nordstrom interview, 2/11/18.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

move around the prints and examine them individually, taking full advantage of this - a tactile and engaging aspect of the collection.

The physical print and digital material each bring different benefits to the collection. The issues raised by a digital archive of photographs give rise to important discussions of digital photography and contemporary work within modern archives. Digital photography as an evolution of the photographic medium carries with it differing values and methodologies to that of analogue techniques. Lev Manovich argues that ‘the logic of the digital photograph is one of historical continuity and discontinuity. The digital image tears apart the net of semiotic codes, modes of display, and patterns of spectatorship in modern visual culture – and at the same time weaves this net even stronger.’¹⁵⁶ The digital image has created a rift in the archive which it has filled with itself, changing the structure of the archive in terms of both the digitisation of analogue material as well as digital photographs entering the collection initially in this format. By disrupting the structure of photography, digital imaging benefits collections by becoming part of archival practice and forming overarching digital structures for itself and analogue predecessors. Thus, digital photography raises new concerns in many areas - in this case in how an archive handles and uses digital photographs.

As well as preserving photographs by avoiding the deterioration of negatives and prints, the archive must have in place the appropriate technology to store and access digital photographs. Digital imaging often has the perception of being more stable and less easily damaged than digital files. It offers the ‘promise of perpetual copying and transmission without quality

¹⁵⁶ Lev Manovich, “The Paradoxes of Digital Photography,” in *The Photography Reader*, ed. Liz Wells (London: Routledge, 2003) 241.

loss.’¹⁵⁷ Therefore, James Reilly argues that ‘when hardware becomes obsolete or ... is in danger of deteriorating, one simply transfers the files to the next available technology.’¹⁵⁸ In terms of archival practice, each institution has to have systems in place for this as digital imaging and software continues to evolve. A TIFF file given to the archive now could be more difficult to access in years to come. The very nature of digital imaging allows, in theory, for these files to be continually transferred and upgraded. However, this raises issues of image quality; as Manovich states, although photography is inherently reproducible ‘in reality, there is actually much more degradation and loss of information between copies of digital images than between copies of traditional photographs.’¹⁵⁹ Whereas analogue photography carries with it its own issues of reproducibility in terms of authorship and image editing, unless the original negative itself has deteriorated then the reproduced image will retain the same image resolution as before. With digital images, even though they may be perceived to be more stable, the original file can also suffer data loss or corruption, affecting the resolution and quality of a reproduced file. This damage can occur when changing the format of an image file, so that the previous point of being able to continue to upgrade files for each new technology carries with it this the risk of potential deterioration.

Digital collections bring with them the issue that ‘a single digital image consists of millions of pixels. All of this data requires considerable storage space.’¹⁶⁰ Whereas analogue

¹⁵⁷ James M. Reilly, “Preserving Photograph Collections in Research Libraries: A Perspective,” in *Issues in the Conservation of Photographs*, eds. Debra Hess Norris and Jennifer Jae Gutierrez (LA, California: Getty Publications, 2010) 571.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Manovich, “The Paradoxes of Digital Photography,” 243.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

photographic collections take up physical space, digital collections take up large amounts of local or virtual data storage. Digital photography collections, therefore, can hold large numbers of photographs without taking up physical storage space, as long as there is adequate provision for the digital files. This aspect is something that the St Andrews archive can provide through the use of university servers. As it is affiliated with the university, the photographic collection's files are stored on multiple servers within the university and treated as university data.¹⁶¹ As such, sets of multiple servers are in different buildings to avoid data loss should anything happen to either the server or the building itself. The system that the archive uses checks every item in the collection each week, reporting the status of each file in the form of a digital code. If the code of a digital image is different from the report the week before, it means the image file has changed to some degree, suggesting a damaged file. With digital imaging files, 'it could just be one pixel but ... if you have one error, which can easily happen, in one part of the file then the whole file is corrupt.'¹⁶² The archive avoids this corruption by replacing the file with an original backup file, ensuring that the digital collection always remains unaltered. With this system, the archive enables a stable digital image management system that avoids any image deterioration.

As Document Scotland are a working collective contributing their work to the archive on an ongoing basis, the archive receives digital files of each project directly from the photographers. The collective provides high resolution images that are more versatile for further use and reproduction of the images. As the photographers themselves provide the archive with the files, they are able to contribute their own catalogue information for each

¹⁶¹ Rachel Nordstrom interview, 2/11/18.

¹⁶² Ibid.

image which the archive can use for its database. With historic collections, or even relatively recent collections such as the Franki Raffles archive, a collection may be presented in portfolios or in some sequential order. However, this order may be something which the archive has to organise or create entirely new catalogue data from the available information, as with Raffles' material.

Collaborating with contemporary photographers means that the archive can be provided with exactly what cataloguing information they need for each image. Nordstrom states that 'when they supply us with digital material, we also ask them for a spreadsheet with title, date, [and] who's in the photo. They probably still remember who's in the photo which is something we don't get with a lot of historic collections.'¹⁶³ This engagement with the archive by the photography collective shows the attention to detail towards these acquisitions and the benefit to this collaboration; the collective is able to annotate their images and projects fully, retaining the context and intention of their work, whilst the archive is able to receive rich catalogue information for access to viewing the collection online. Receiving the digital images in this format enables the archive to avoid lengthy digitisation projects, which in turn enables the images to be quickly uploaded to the archive database. This allows prompt public access to the entire Document Scotland collection on the photographic collection's website, much faster than can be achieved by other collections that need more time-consuming cataloguing processes. Part of this value of having digital archive material is that this eases the ongoing collaboration between the archive and the photographers, enabling new projects to be taken in to the archive on a continual basis. As Sutton-Hibbert states, 'it is important for

¹⁶³ Ibid.

us for our work to be accessible to future generations and for the subjects we photograph to be documented and those resulting images to stand the test of time.’¹⁶⁴ The relationship between photographer and archive enables this, with both parties having greater control of the images and related information due to this collaboration.

The Document Scotland collection within the St Andrews Photographic Collection leverages the features associated with a digital contemporary working collection. The prints provide the archive with physical material that can be showcased to the viewing public in a more traditional sense of archive material, whereas the digital aspect points towards the future of photography archival practice. The issues surrounding digital imaging technology are acknowledged and dealt with by the archive itself, avoiding data corruption and preserving image quality. The collective not only provides high quality photographs to enable greater use of such images, but the accompanying catalogue information is also of great importance. Firstly, it allows for the fast uploading of the information to the archive’s database for access by researchers and the public. Secondly, this engagement by the photographers with the cataloguing process means that the collective can record for posterity the precise information they wish to be associated with each image, creating a solid record of each image that enriches each photograph with contextual information of people, places and events. The aim of the collective to document recent Scottish history and its impact on the culture of the nation is apparent with this additional information provided for the archive. Each image on the database carries with it its own context, creating a complete document of the larger project, informing the viewer of the social and cultural issue recorded. The use of digital

¹⁶⁴ Jeremy Sutton-Hibbert, interviewed by Lydia Heeley, correspondence by email, 28/11/18.

acquisitions enables this in an efficient way, the collaborative nature of the collection allowing for this information and the secure storage of the digital files providing the archive with a rich and versatile body of work. These practicalities of the archive enable the collection to be held in St Andrews, the significance of which in terms of placing the work within traditions of Scottish documentary photography will now be discussed.

Document Scotland Photographic Works

The Document Scotland collective aims to create photographic projects that reflect the current state of the nation through recording stories, events, themes and traditions across Scotland. The collaboration with the St Andrews Photographic Collection is a partnership that will ‘support contemporary photography at this pivotal time in Scotland’s modern history.’¹⁶⁵ This benefits the collective by preserving their photography, as well as benefiting the archive which receives contemporary work to build on an already historically important collection. The procurement of photographs from contemporary working photographers enlivens the archive with current events and modern digital photographic practices. Both the archive and the collective hope these acquisitions will ‘develop a rich new strand to the collection that will ultimately form a unique cultural resource for generations to come.’¹⁶⁶ This strand will stand testament to the current state of Scotland, alongside the photographic collection’s rich history of Scottish politics and culture.

¹⁶⁵ Colin McPherson, “A New Collaboration,” accessed 11/1/19.
<http://www.documentscotland.com/standrews-scottish-photography-archive/>.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

Document Scotland are continuing the tradition of documentary photography that has been argued to be prevalent in Scotland.¹⁶⁷ However, whilst this body of work will become a part of this lineage of Scottish photography, the collective's work represents a contemporary reinvention of documentary photography that examines current events in Scotland. The projects held in the St Andrews Photographic Collection demonstrate a further shift in the practices previously discussed in terms of Cowie and Raffles towards a documentary approach that has the common thread of Scottish nationhood running through the work. The idea of land and nationhood that is present through each project relates to Scotland's rich and diverse history of its own relationship to the landscape through periods of cultural turmoil and prosperity. McPherson states that:

Taken in its broadest context, the relationship between our history and people has always been connected to a sense of place in Scotland. Whilst the issues around land-ownership and management, with its relevance to the environment and economic growth, are often debated, these subjects are best illuminated when narrated either through people, communities or by the photographer themselves.¹⁶⁸

The collective's concern with this sense of place and nationhood within Scotland is evident in their treatment of each subject. In some cases, the physical landscape of Scotland representing within the photographs emphasises this connection between land and nationhood. Wells argues that 'struggles over personal and national identity resonate complexly, influenced by representations of place and space within which landscape imagery

¹⁶⁷ Normand, *Scottish Photography: A History*, 93.

¹⁶⁸ Colin McPherson, "A Contested Land: Behind the Lens #1," accessed 11/1/19.

<http://www.documentscotland.com/a-contested-land-behind-the-lens-1/>.

plays a key part.’¹⁶⁹ The collective often depicts the Scottish landscape, such as Sophie Gerrard’s recent project *The Flows*, which documents the restoration of peatlands of the north coast of Scotland.¹⁷⁰ However, even when the landscape itself is not the subject, this sense of place remains in each image through the people and events depicted, reinforcing the idea of Scottish nationhood that is rooted in locality. This approach taken by the collective is apparent in the projects that will be examined in this chapter.

Colin McPherson

An historic event in Scotland’s recent past that in part prompted the collective’s formation was the Scottish Independence Referendum in 2014. The photographers in the collective realised the importance of this historic moment in the country’s political landscape and sought to document the run up to the referendum vote.¹⁷¹ In the work held by the St Andrews Photographic Collection, Colin McPherson’s series *Scotland Before the Independence Referendum* encapsulates this period of time by documenting the rallies, events, and overall impact on the general public. The series is made up of thirty-six digital images, with a selection of ten prints taken from these files, although McPherson made an extensive archive and series of additional images of the impact of the referendum over time.¹⁷² The series ranges from images of rallies and marches on both sides of the vote, to images of football matches and oil supply ships. One such photograph taken in Aberdeen on the 10th of September 2014 shows a large supply ship passing through a suburban landscape, with

¹⁶⁹ Liz Wells, *Land Matters* (London: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 2011) 259.

¹⁷⁰ See: http://www.documentscotland.com/sophiegerrard_theflows/

¹⁷¹ See: <http://www.documentscotland.com/portfolio/scottish-independence-referendum/>

¹⁷² See: https://colinmcperson.photoshelter.com/gallery/Scotland-Decides-2014/G0000VKXcQxcAt4s/C0000MN.t_H8Zb4A

clothes on a washing line blowing in the breeze in the foreground (fig. 3.2). The catalogue entry for the image states that ‘a supply ship passes the historic Footdee area of Aberdeen, a traditional fishing village which sits next to the city’s harbour, Scotland’s North Sea oil and gas transportation and maintenance hub.’¹⁷³ This context provided by the photographer gives the viewer the historical and cultural background associated with the image, elaborating on the gas, oil and shipbuilding trades that make up the heavy industrial sector of Scotland.¹⁷⁴

The photograph has several layers of everyday Scottish life within it; the washing in the foreground hints towards domesticity and everyday tasks, the playground behind that leisure and family activity, the ship that of the Scottish shipbuilding industry and oil trade, and finally the rolling hills in the background providing a sense of the Scottish landscape. This creates a picture of an everyday scene in Scottish life in the Aberdeen area which also resonates with the culture and heritage of this environment. McPherson explains his use of this photograph in the series by adding in the catalogue entry that ‘issues surrounding oil and gas have been one of the key political battlegrounds between supporters of Scottish independence and those who prefer Scotland to remain within the United Kingdom.’¹⁷⁵ This demonstrates the importance of the place pictured and the significance of showing the supply

¹⁷³ Colin McPherson, “Scotland Before the Independence Referendum,” accessed 23/3/18.

<https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/imu/imu.php?request=display&port=45175&id=6335&flag=start&offset=0&count=10&listcount=20&view=list&irn=565737&departmentfilter=Special%20Collections&ecatalogue=on>.

¹⁷⁴ Murray MacKinnon and Richard Oram, *The Scots: A Photo History* (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd, 2003) 18.

¹⁷⁵ Colin McPherson, “Scotland Before the Independence Referendum.”

ship heading towards the oil hub of the North Sea, a setting that emphasises its place in Scottish life.

In terms of the political events and rallies taking place during this tumultuous year, McPherson shows both the Yes and the No campaigns. An event in Linlithgow on the 15th of September 2014 shows the back of a man in the crowd of supporters with ‘Aye’ written in blue on his head (fig. 3.3). McPherson’s caption reads, ‘a pro-independence supporter with the word ‘Aye’ on his scalp pictured outside the Burgh Hall waiting the arrival of Scotland’s First Minister Alex Salmond.’¹⁷⁶ The image demonstrates the dedication of pro-independence campaigners, not only defacing their own body to show their support but also standing in the rain to see the First Minister, as the woman’s soaked coat in the background suggests. This image also shows the playful nature of the Scottish public, showing their support in creative ways.

For the No campaign, images such as one taken on the 13th of September 2014 records ‘members of the Protestant Orange Order marching through Edinburgh to show support for a No vote’¹⁷⁷ (fig 3.4). According to the catalogue entry, this was the ‘first such large-scale demonstration of support by the Orange Order,’¹⁷⁸ suggesting an additional effort on behalf of the campaign as the impending vote loomed. It was held only days later, on the 18th of September. The low vantage point emphasises the movement of the people marching, and the bright sky highlights the colours in the Union Jack flag at the front of the line, in contrast to the overwhelming blue tones in many of the Yes campaign images. Both of these images are

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

available online and as prints, suggesting the importance of balancing either side of the Referendum vote in the series as a print portfolio. McPherson documents the situation with impartiality, creating a record of the country at that time without displaying any strong bias towards either side. The context this series creates is further enhanced by McPherson's addition of exact dates and locations for each image, as well as the accompanying text explaining each situation. This builds a portrait of the country in the days before the vote took place, giving a sense of the cultural values at stake by documenting the people and places taking either side in the vote.

Another of McPherson's series in the St Andrews collection similarly explores the issue of Scottish life leading up to the referendum. *A Fine Line* focuses on the border between Scotland and England, displaying the implications of the vote in remote settings, away from the large crowds of rallies in larger towns and cities. Made over a longer period of time, the project was a 'one-year exploration of the border between the two historic nations, as seen from the Scottish side of the frontier and made in the run up to the 2014 referendum on Scottish Independence.'¹⁷⁹ The archive holds seven digital files and seven prints from this series. The photographs were shot on a single medium format camera,¹⁸⁰ the resulting scans making up the digital files and used for prints for the collection.

The series includes images of literal borders of the two countries; an image from the Cheviot Hills taken in 2014 shows a border fence in a remote landscape (fig. 3.5). As McPherson

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Colin McPherson, "Looking over the border," accessed 26/3/18.
<http://www.documentscotland.com/portfolio/looking-over-the-border/>.

wanted each image to be ‘made in Scotland,’¹⁸¹ it becomes clear that the left-hand side of the image is Scottish territory, where McPherson was standing, with England to the right of the fence. The unassuming yet symbolic fence in the wild landscape presents a peaceful alternative to other referendum photographs such as crowded marches. Wells states that ‘contemporary landscape photography at once both shapes, and questions, perceptions of place and national identity.’¹⁸² This image exemplifies this, portraying the same landscape in which a single fence shapes the Scottish nation’s identity. The simplicity of the fence seems to question the borders, whilst reinforcing the division of the landscape, giving a greater sense of place to the Scottish side.

Similarly, a photograph taken in Carter Bar in 2013 shows a lone piper welcoming people in to Scotland by giving them a taste of Scottish culture (fig. 3.6). The otherwise sparse landscape is given its context by the two nation’s flags, and a large stone with ‘Scotland’ etched upon it, signalling the border. The image provides a quiet snapshot of daily life on the border, which would be unremarkable if not for the piper himself, performing solely for people entering Scotland. The piper symbolises a projected sense of Scottishness, enlivened for the tourist trade and immediately presented at the border of the country. Davidson argues that this ‘‘staging for the tourist’ in fact contributes to the invention of national cultures, or more precisely, the formation of national consciousness.’¹⁸³ The piper represents a heightened sense of Scottish culture, displayed for the tourist but at the same time reinforcing national ideas of Scottishness. The significance of this occurring at the border demonstrates

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Wells, *Land Matters*, 259.

¹⁸³ Neil Davidson, *The Origins of Scottish Nationhood* (London: Pluto Press, 2000) 134.

the importance of such ideas of nationhood. McPherson states that ‘I photographed people I encountered along the way and events which make up the fabric of life on the border.’¹⁸⁴ The image represents an everyday moment at the border, creating a symbolic scene of the nation, in some ways unaffected by the impending referendum, whilst also signalling the underlying implications of the vote that these same border activities might be disrupted.

Both series discussed document people, places and events at crucial moments in Scotland’s history. These two series, out of the three of McPherson’s currently held by the Document Scotland collection at the archive, emphasise the collective’s drive to document and preserve important moments and notions of Scottish history and heritage. These series provide a vital insight to the country at this tumultuous time in its history. With his series on these events, and reflecting the aims of the collective as a whole, McPherson hopes that ‘[with] the photography that we are laying down for the future, people can turn around and say, “that’s what it looked like at the time of the referendum, that’s what photography looked like then.”’¹⁸⁵ These series demonstrates not only what the time of the referendum looked like, but presents a contemporary documentary photography concerned with place and nation, which will remain in the archive as testament to Scottish documentary photography at this time.

Stephen McLaren

Stephen McLaren’s series *Scotia Nova* explores the extent of Scottish nationhood in a variety of locations around the country. McLaren states that ‘a reading of [Robert Louis] Stevenson’s

¹⁸⁴ McPherson, “Looking over the border.”

¹⁸⁵ Sophie Gerrard, Colin McPherson, and Jeremy Sutton-Hibbert, interviewed by Lydia Heeley, Document Scotland Salon at Stills, Edinburgh. 7/2/19.

‘Kidnapped’ in school stirred in me a desire to escape the Central Belt, and encounter the wide and dramatic places of Scotland that Stevenson clearly loved ... I re-read Kidnapped in recent years as I was beginning a road-trip around Scotland which led to these pictures.’¹⁸⁶ In the book, set in 1750, the protagonist David Balfour and his Jacobite companion Alan Breck Stewart travel by ship around the outer isles of Scotland, before a false murder accusation leads them to traverse the Highlands by foot, eventually ending their journey in Edinburgh.¹⁸⁷ Accordingly, McLaren’s series featured images made all over Scotland from 2010 to 2014. The St Andrews Photographic Collection holds twenty-seven of these images in both digital and print format, allowing viewers online and in person to experience the range of subjects and locations captured in the project.

Inspired by the book, McLaren states that ‘it is Stevenson’s exploration of the Scottish psyche from such events as the Clearances, the division between Highlands and Lowlands, and a loss of nationhood which resonated in me.’¹⁸⁸ The range of subjects depicted vary greatly to explore these issues in a contemporary setting, and gives a sense of different aspects of Scottish culture and ideas of national identity across the country. Whilst inspired by literature of a romanticised Scottish landscape, McLaren challenges this notion by focusing on people and events interacting with the landscape in everyday occurrences, building an idea

¹⁸⁶ Stephen McLaren, “Scotia Nova,” accessed 12/4/18. https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/imu/imu.php?request=display&port=45177&id=feb8&flag=start&offset=0&sort=date&count=20&listcount=20&view=list&departmentfilter=Special%20Collections&catalogue=on&keywords=scotia%20nova&operator3=ge&column3=creation_date&operator2=le&column2=creation_date_to&creator=mclaren.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

of Scottishness based on its inhabitants. Wells states that ‘ideology operates to hold together apparently contradictory discourses and knowledges, to forge a sense of nationhood out of a diversity of historical and contemporary cultural currencies.’¹⁸⁹ The collective acknowledges that Scotland is ‘mired in inconsistencies and contradictions’¹⁹⁰ such as historic divisions between north and south in the country, yet this is interwoven in the notion of Scottish nationhood, creating a greater sense of identity. McLaren’s series explores aspects of this around the country, building a document of Scotland as a nation at this time.

One such image shows the Oban Pipe Band rehearsing in a carpark in Oban (fig. 3.7). The pipers form a circle as they practise outside a derelict bowling alley, the pattern of their kilts adding colour and texture to an otherwise sparse scene. Rather than the romanticised view of pipers marching through streets or Highland games, this view gives a glimpse of a pipe band practice session. This conveys the sense of Scottish music forming a part of nationhood, as previously discussed with McPherson’s lone piper and the border. McLaren stated that ‘as a Scottish photographer I thought it important that I should try and reflect on the seismic changes that are underway in Scotland’s national identity by travelling far and wide and photographing people and events which I think inform and comment on this new political and

¹⁸⁹ Wells, *Land Matters*, 211.

¹⁹⁰ Document Scotland, “A Contested Land,” accessed 12/1/19. <http://www.documentscotland.com/a-contested-land-scotland-photographers/>.

cultural movement.¹⁹¹ By depicting the pipe band in a banal setting, this image emphasises traditional Scottish music as an enduring feature of Scottish national identity.

Another continuing aspect of Scottish culture is sheep farming. As MacKinnon and Oram state, ‘sheep have played a significant role in the Scottish rural economy since the twelfth century.’¹⁹² Events such as agricultural shows exemplify the significance of farming that Scottish culture has held for hundreds of years. An image of one show in Cupar captures a shearer fleecing a sheep at the Fife Agricultural Show (fig. 3.8). The farmer flings the fleece in the air to dramatic effect, as a crowd watches from behind a fence. The drama of the image asserts the showmanship of the farmer himself. The dynamic scene creates a celebratory sense to the occasion, emphasising the fact that such a historic trade still draws crowds of people at agricultural shows. Farming remains a large component of Scottish culture and industry, providing a connection to the land that is deeply rooted in the landscape and history of the country. Displaying farming feats to be performed to the public at shows such as this demonstrates that ‘the process of constructing an image of Scotland for external consumption also contributed to the construction of an internal sense of what it meant to be Scottish.’¹⁹³ As with music, the concept of the Scottish farming industry can also be presented as a heightened notion of Scottish identity. This creates entertainment for those outside of the industry, whilst reinforcing the historic identity attributed to Scottish farmers.

¹⁹¹ Stephen McLaren, “Scotia Nova,” accessed 20/4/18.

<http://www.documentscotland.com/portfolio/nova-scotia-photographs-scotland-documentary-photography/>.

¹⁹² MacKinnon and Oram, *The Scots: A Photo History*, 103.

¹⁹³ Davidson, *The Origins of Scottish Nationhood*, 134.

As previously discussed, landscape plays an important role in Scottish nationhood. This concept reaches far and wide, as people all over the world are drawn to Scotland by this mythical and wild landscape. McLaren's image of Glencoe shows visitors in the popular tourist spot, as they wish to capture a part of the landscape as a memento of their trip (fig. 3.9). The image displays parts of the stunning landscape, whilst the people in the foreground are captured preoccupied by attempting to make their own image of the scene. This gives a slightly absurd and humorous sense to the image in a similar vein to Martin Parr's *Small World*¹⁹⁴ series in which the focus is on tourists posing in front of world attractions instead of the landscape itself. Similar to Parr's images, McLaren's photograph creates a sense of the tourists overwhelming the environment, the crowds of people and man-made carpark invading the natural landscape.

The photograph presents a scene of great beauty and interest that most people present are viewing through a camera screen rather than their own eyes. The desire to capture landscapes and iconic places such as this can be said to rest in the mythology of Scottish landscape, especially in an historically important place such as Glencoe as the site of a Jacobite massacre. As MacKinnon and Oram describe it, 'the rugged wilderness and grandeur of Glencoe, with its history of betrayal and slaughter, formed part of the romanticized package of Gaelic Scotland.'¹⁹⁵ This history as well as the dramatic landscape itself plays an important part in Scottish nationhood - one that now draws others to the land to experience this identity for themselves. Urry argues that 'such gazes cannot be left to chance. People have to learn

¹⁹⁴ See *Small World*, 1995, Martin Parr:

<https://pro.magnumphotos.com/C.aspx?VP3=SearchResult&ALID=29YL53G7RT3>.

¹⁹⁵ MacKinnon and Oram, *The Scots: A Photo History*, 97.

how, when and where to ‘gaze.’ Clear markers have to be provided and in some cases the object of the gaze is merely the marker that indicates some event or experience which previously happened on that spot.’¹⁹⁶ Whilst the wild landscape of Glencoe could be said to draw tourists, the ‘marker’ of Glencoe’s bloody history draws an international crowd to this particular place in Scotland. Locations such as the man-made clearing in McLaren’s photograph point the tourist towards the site of history, highlighting not only the landscape but the events that affected Scotland as a nation.

McLaren presents a notion of Scotland that can be seen from within the country as well as presenting an external concept of the nation to other countries. Two projects of McLaren’s other work focuses on Scottish identity and history outside of the country. *American Always Scottish Forever* documents Highland games in California, Americans of Scottish descent portrayed in Highland dress, showing a strong association with their Scottish ancestry.¹⁹⁷ A project recently acquired by the St Andrews Photographic Collection¹⁹⁸, *Jamaica - A Sweet Forgetting* explores Scotland’s part in the slave trade in Jamaica, which has been largely omitted from Scottish history, featuring images from both Jamaica and Scotland.¹⁹⁹ These projects explore Scottish identity and the histories that affect them on an global scale. Whilst

¹⁹⁶ John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*, (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 1990) 29.

¹⁹⁷ See: <https://www.stephenmclaren.co.uk/american-always-scottish-forever>

¹⁹⁸ *Jamaica – A Sweet Forgetting* was acquired from McLaren by the archive in October 2018, including digital files and a print portfolio.

¹⁹⁹ See: <https://www.stephenmclaren.co.uk/jamaica-a-sweet-forgetting>

Scotia Nova is based in locations in Scotland, the project embodies Scottish culture and identity in a way that can be experienced by an international audience.

Scotia Nova demonstrates aspects of life from all over the country that are rooted in the ideas and identity of Scotland as a nation. This exploration of aspects of Scottish culture such as music, farming and tourism that are ingrained in the Scottish history demonstrates important aspects of this national identity. Whilst these aspects are also presented as heightened versions of themselves to the outside world and tourist industry, they remain based in the culture of the land. Through the turbulent history of Scottishness, the collective affirms that ‘that is not to say there isn’t a strong sense of what constitutes Scottishness to guide the country. It pre-determines the national conversation, and if the 2014 Independence Referendum highlighted one thing through the debate, discussion and diatribe, it was that those who live, work and breathe the air in Scotland feel first-and-foremost Scottish above all.’²⁰⁰ McLaren’s work exemplifies this, demonstrating Scottish nationhood through the people and places of Scotland itself.

Jeremy Sutton-Hibbert

Following themes of identity rooted in the landscape and the traditions upheld within this, the St Andrews Photographic Collection holds series by Jeremy Sutton-Hibbert emphasising this. One project entitled *Unsullied and Untarnished: The Common Riding Festivals of the Scottish Borders* documents tradition of the Common Riding festivals that take place annually in the towns of the Scottish Borders. The archive holds forty-one images taken over two years of visiting the festival, as well as the accompanying photobook, donated by Sutton-

²⁰⁰ Document Scotland, “A Contested Land.”

Hibbert. The festivities involve ‘Braw Lassies and Honest Lads, Left Hand Lassies and Right Hand Men, Cornets, Hunters and Coldstreamers – all titles given to the upstanding youths who lead the festivities, and whose duty it is to carry the burgh or town standard around the common lands, and to “bring it back unsullied and untarnished.”’²⁰¹ The project follows these traditions and the people that participate in the festival.

An image that demonstrates the scale of the riding event in the Common Riding festivities, taken on the 14th of June 2013 (fig. 3.10), portrays the moment ‘Horsemen, led by Royal Burgh Standard Bearer Martin Rodgerson and his Burlymen attendants, arrive at the Three Brethren cairns summit, to check the boundaries of the lands.’²⁰² The wild landscape is the backdrop for the participants and their historic ritual checking of these internal borders, the burgh standard billowing dramatically in the wind. The scene is reminiscent of McPherson’s image of the border, a symbolic marker in the rolling landscape. Sutton-Hibbert provides further catalogue information about this photograph, recording the specific coordinates of the event, N55°34.665' W2°54.070'. The photograph and the image caption are not only a record of the place and time of this event, but also a record of a historic site associated with this tradition. The image exemplifies the notion that, as Wells states, ‘site and space, political and spiritual identity, are complexly interwoven.’²⁰³ The festival continues a ritual acted out by

²⁰¹ Jeremy Sutton-Hibbert, “Unsullied and Untarnished,” accessed 24/3/18.

<http://www.documentscotland.com/unsullied-untarnished-photobook-common-ridings/>.

²⁰² Alex Massie, “Unsullied and Untarnished” in *Unsullied and Untarnished: The Common Ridings and Festivals of the Scottish Borders*, ed. Jeremy Sutton-Hibbert (London: Brownlie Editions).

²⁰³ Wells, *Land Matters*, 211.

border inhabitants since the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the sites of the landscapes traversed crucial to the participants' sense of national identity.

A photograph taken at the festivities the following year changes the focus of the events to the people taking part. Sutton-Hibbert creates portraits of the participants in their festive attire, such as Right Hand Man, Garry Ramsay, at the Jethart Callant's Festival, Jedburgh, on the 8th of July 2014 (fig. 3.11). One of a number of portraits of riders and dignitaries from the festival, the young man stands in front of a white background, accentuating the bright red and blue of his festival rosettes. This highlights the red in the formal Scottish dress, showing that the event is one of tradition and importance, with all participants dressed in their fineries and best riding gear. The sitter's eyes are downcast, suggesting a sobriety to the occasion. This portrait also highlights the use of colour in the documentary images, the vivid colours of the rosettes standing out from the dark dress coat. This emphasises the shift in documentary photography towards colour from that of photographers such as Raffles, decades prior to this work, demonstrating that 'much documentary work is now to be seen on gallery walls and the archetypal small, monochrome print has given way to large colour images.'²⁰⁴ The quality of the image and the large digital format enable such photographs to be presented in this way, through the archive's files or by the photographer themselves.

The formality of the portrait emphasises the significance of the festival to the residents of the border towns taking part each year. These events are 'annual gatherings of remembrance and celebration; affirmations that though these may be small places there is nothing small about

²⁰⁴ Price, "Surveyors and Surveyed: Photography Out and About," 129.

coming from Kelso or Galashiels, Lauder or Langholm.²⁰⁵ A sense of Scottish nationhood runs through these festivities with the knowledge of the long running traditions associated with them. This series of staged portraits were taken by Sutton-Hibbert the second time he visited the festival, whereas first images made in 2013 follow the action of the riders and crowds attending the ceremonial checking of the borders and other traditions. Both components of the festival retain elements of Scottish culture specific to border identity, a commentary on the sense of nationhood in the southern reaches of the country.

As with the other photographers within the collective, Sutton-Hibbert has a background in press photography, contributing work to publications such as *Time*, *National Geographic*, *The Guardian* and *The Sunday Times*,²⁰⁶ with Sutton-Hibbert describing himself as a press photographer.²⁰⁷ With this context in mind, the projects held by the St Andrews Photographic Collection signal the changing nature of photojournalism from photographers such as those of Cowie's era, not least in the modern profusion of colour images within the press, but also in the presentation of the collective's subjects in this documentary style. The group effort of the collective to build a larger portrait of Scotland also expands the nature of collaboration within documentary photography from the time of Cowie's photojournalist career. Projects such as *Unsullied and Untarnished* present a contemporary photographic document following an

²⁰⁵ Jeremy Sutton-Hibbert, "Unsullied and Untarnished."

²⁰⁶ Document Scotland, "Photographer Biographies," accessed 24/3/19.

<http://www.documentscotland.com/documentary-scotland-photography-biographies/>.

²⁰⁷ Sophie Gerrard, Colin McPherson, and Jeremy Sutton-Hibbert, interviewed by Lydia Heeley, Document Scotland Salon at Stills, Edinburgh. 7/2/19.

event, which Sutton-Hibbert utilises to record an aspect of national identity that informs the perspective of the Scottish nation.

At the opposite end of the country on the Orkney islands, Sutton-Hibbert made a short series of photographs which the St Andrews Photographic Collection acquired in a more recent procurement from the Document Scotland group in 2017. As the collective is a group of contemporary working photographers, the acquisition of further work for the archive is able to be an ongoing collaboration. This series currently exists in the collection as five digital images. The photographs taken in 2015 depict the tradition of the Boy's Ploughing Match and The Festival of the Horse, on the island of South Ronaldsay, which has taken place in Orkney for at least two hundred years in celebration of the isle's agricultural roots.²⁰⁸

An image of one of the ploughing matches, the 'Old Boys' match, demonstrates the logistics of the competition (fig. 3.12). Only taking place on certain years of the annual event, these men participate in the boys' competition, the image caption explaining that 'the competition is held to determine who can plough the neatest furrows using miniature hand-crafted ploughs.'²⁰⁹ The line of men is doubled by the lines drawn in the sand by the ploughs, drawing the eye towards the centre of the image, a look of concentration on each face in the line-up. Marking the sand in this way displays each competitor's skill with the plough,

²⁰⁸ Alison Campsie, "The 200-year-old Orkney Festival where girls dress as horses," accessed 26/3/18. <https://www.scotsman.com/lifestyle/the-200-year-old-orkney-festival-where-girls-dress-as-horses-1-4074785>.

²⁰⁹ Jeremy Sutton-Hibbert, "South Ronaldsay Boys Ploughing Match and Festival of the Horse, Orkney," accessed 26/3/18. <https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/imu/imu.php?request=display&port=45175&id=acc3&flag=start&offset=0&count=10&listcount=20&view=list&irn=595047&departmentfilter=Special%20Collections&ecatalogue=on>.

mimicking the marking of the landscape of farming on the island. Sutton-Hibbert notes that ‘these ploughs are made from wood and metal, and are handed down through the generations,’²¹⁰ exemplifying the significance of the agricultural heritage in Orkney and the important tradition of the ploughing match.

On the day of the match, girls dress up as horses to join in the festivities. Four-year-old Imogen Scott is shown wearing highly decorated outfits in bright colours, with details such as fur around the hands and feet to mimic the hooves of Clydesdale horses (fig. 3.13). As previously discussed with the *Unsullied and Untarnished* portrait, the use of colour portraiture accentuates the intricately decorated clothes with tassels and ribbons, emphasised by Sutton-Hibbert’s use of soft focus blurring the background behind her. She also wears a horse’s harness around her shoulders, further mimicking the appearance of the Clydesdale farming horse. As with the ploughs, the harnesses were often passed down through families, with further decorations added to embellish them over the years.²¹¹ This demonstrates the devotion of Orcadians to the festival and the agricultural traditions it celebrates, as each generation adds their own elements to it. The festival adheres to one undesirable feature of tradition, as ‘while boys may dress as horses to also compete, the girls are not allowed to participate in the sand ploughing element of the festival competition.’²¹² This points towards past gender roles within agriculture, displaying one negative aspect of unchanging traditions within events such as these in Scotland.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Alison Campsie, “The 200-year-old Orkney Festival where girls dress as horses.”

²¹² Jeremy Sutton-Hibbert, “South Ronaldsay Boys Ploughing Match and Festival of the Horse, Orkney.”

The ploughing match and festival of the horse asserts the maintenance of important traditions of islander life, and a deep connection to the land and the farming heritage of their ancestors. Retaining aspects such as these events links the islanders back to ‘the twin processes of agricultural reform and industrialization [which] pulled apart the fabric of traditional Scottish life.’²¹³ Using ancient hand-made ploughs, the islanders form their identity through these tools from the past, taking time to consider this aspect of the Scottish nation in the industrial modern day. Similarly, the people depicted in *Unsullied and Untarnished* carry on the tradition of checking the country’s boundaries on horseback, a ritual that is vital to retain the border’s history. The two series discussed here illustrate the preservation of Scottish traditions at either end of the country, and the significance of this to the inhabitant’s sense of identity, pointing towards the ideals of Scottish nationhood as a whole.

Sophie Gerrard

Exploring a connection to the Scottish landscape alongside ideas of national identity, Sophie Gerrard’s series *Drawn to the Land* documents women farmers living in wild rural areas of Scotland, challenging the male-led stereotypes of farming as previously seen in Sutton-Hibbert’s work. The series is a long-term ongoing project that began in 2012; the St Andrews collection currently consists of twenty-six digital images and twelve prints, acquired in 2014 with a second acquisition in 2017. Gerrard describes the Scottish landscape as ‘a great symbol of our national identity and nostalgia – but one which can often lead to a view of the picturesque, of romance and “rural fantasy.”’²¹⁴ The harsh realities of farming as a

²¹³ MacKinnon and Oram, *The Scots: A Photo History*, 17.

²¹⁴ Sophie Gerrard, “Drawn to the Land,” accessed 20/4/18.

<http://www.documentscotland.com/portfolio/drawn-to-the-land/>.

profession, alongside the under-representation of female farmers in a male-dominated culture, challenge the romantic notions of landscape. However, the series gives a sense of these women working with the land rather than against it, revealing the ‘intense and remarkable relationship with the harsh landscape in which they live and work.’²¹⁵ With this, it can be argued that the women portrayed contradict preconceived notions of the Scottish landscape as romanticised and as carrying a certain sense of masculine nationhood in terms of the agricultural industry. Forming their own connection to the land, the series documents these women following in the footsteps of traditional farming whilst challenging gender roles and forging new relationships with modern agriculture.

The women take a central role in this series, depicted working on the land with their livestock and in their own homes. The project follows a number of women farmers on their croft. Alongside the image files and prints given to the archive, Gerrard provides captions including quotations from the subjects depicted. Minty MacKay, one of the crofters featured, states that ‘the land is there long before you were there and it’s there long after you are there so it will come back. It needs to be looked after and nurtured. I find it such a privilege.’²¹⁶ This emphasises the subjects’ connection with and consideration of the land which they are farming, acknowledging the significance of the landscape and its agricultural heritage. An image taken on Minty’s farm on the isle of Mull in February 2014, shows Bonny Mealand, a farrier, her assistant Kate, and Minty herself (fig. 3.14). The women are captured at a moment

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Sophie Gerrard, “Drawn to the Land,” accessed 20/4/18. <https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/imu/imu.php?request=display&port=45176&id=edf5&flag=start&offset=0&count=10&listcount=20&view=list&irn=565734&departmentfilter=Special%20Collections&ecatalogue=on>.

in between work, Bonny and Kate visiting to shoe Minty's ponies. They are shown in their working clothes, surrounded by their tools, at ease with their surroundings on the farm. As with Raffles' photographs of women in the workplace, here Gerrard portrays these women embodying their profession.

Gerrard builds further on this representation of women workers with this series in a way that points towards the absurdity that a woman should not be able to do such a job. Minty herself suggests that 'one thing I've always thought here is that it can be quite hard for women, you're up against yourself, and there's not a lot of diversions for women. You have to be quite strong.'²¹⁷ The women depicted here are portrayed as three strong women, inhabiting the land within their roles in agriculture. This defies past notions of a male-dominated industry, and old traditions such as seen in Sutton-Hibbert's photographs of Orkney. By interacting with such women and challenging stereotypes, the series highlights Gerrard herself as a working female photographer to her male counterparts, capturing images of strong working women.

The series captures all aspects of the farmer's lives, such as the land on which they keep their livestock. One photograph shows a flock of sheep, owned by farmer Patricia Glennie, at Threeburnford Farm in Lauder, taken on the 19th of January 2013 (fig. 3.15). The image has a dream-like quality, as the crisp white snow creates a hazy light and mist that hangs over the photograph. This can lead the image to be seen as a romanticised landscape, exemplifying the ruggedness of the Scottish landscape in Winter. In reality the sheep must be hardy to thrive in such a landscape, especially in the winter snow, providing a challenging environment for

²¹⁷ Ibid.

farming. This harshness can be said to add to the mythical Scottish landscape, as in the past ‘Rural Scotland was a source of aesthetic composition in which the basic elements of earth, stone and iron encapsulated the strength of the land and its people.’²¹⁸ However, the inclusion of the wind turbines interrupts this romantic notion with a symbol of modernity. This shows how ‘photography may contribute to unsettling aspects of cultural identity through offering evidence which does not ‘fit.’’²¹⁹ Modern wind farms have proved a contentious issue for the British landscape in terms of disrupting the rolling landscapes of the country. However, these wind pylons point towards an effort for sustainable living, and as such the image presents an encompassing view of modern farming and a changing notion of rural identity.

In Gerrard’s images of the farmers’ homes, the fact that these women’s lives are closely linked to the land in a domestic sense as well as farming is highlighted. One such image shows family photograph albums and history books in farmer Minty MacKay’s home in Bunessan, Isle of Mull, taken in February 2014 (fig. 3.16). Next to the books, a sheepskin hangs over a wicker chair as a reminder of the trade of the household. The weathered pattern of the carpet matches the spines of the books, offset by the green of the wall behind. The scene is one of serene domesticity, a shelter from the wild landscape outside. The centrality of the women to the project mean that the women’s presence is felt in each image even when they are not directly pictured, such is their influence over the landscape. The family albums are a reminder of the generation of crofters who farmed the land years beforehand. In this we see families working as a unit on the croft through generations, this tradition embedded in the land and their profession rather than in gender roles. Crofters such as Minty are continuing

²¹⁸ Mackinnon and Oram, *The Scots: A Photo History*, 121.

²¹⁹ Wells, *Land Matters*, 221.

this tradition with consideration to their heritage regardless of outside stereotypes or perceived limitations of their gender.

This interior view provides additional context to the photographs of the farming landscape, pointing to the personal lives of the farmers alongside their profession. Minty states that ‘it’s everybody’s dream to have a piece of land. It’s important that the land be lived on, you need to live there because then the heart is in it.’²²⁰ Photographs such as this show the heart of the crofter’s in Gerrard’s series, their own roots and commitment to their homes as well as the land as they build a life for themselves in this rough landscape and in a challenging profession. Wells states that ‘the documentary idiom throws emphasis on content, and the images work rhetorically through building a series of observations on space and human behaviour in external environments close to home.’²²¹ Through the different settings captured by Gerrard, the women crofters’ lives are represented through these spaces, building on the notions of rural life in Scotland and the often male-led national identity associated with it. This series could challenge notions of identity within the country itself, highlighting the work which these strong women take on in the wild environments of Scotland.

As the project is ongoing, this allows the archive to receive additional work to the series from Gerrard as she continues to make images. Part of a later acquisition given to the collection in 2017, a portrait taken on the Isle of Eigg in May 2015 shows crofter Sarah Boden in a farm outhouse (fig. 3.17). The photograph shows Sarah leaning against the wall of the farm building, with a gentle light coming in from the left as she looks to the land outside.

²²⁰ Gerrard, “Drawn to the Land.”

²²¹ Wells, *Land Matters*, 225.

The light also emphasises her stomach, as Sarah is four months pregnant in this image. This also serves as a reminder that all aspects of life are carried out on this landscape, including raising a family; this sense of the domestic is a reminder that the women live on the land as well as work it. Family connection is also an important element, as Sarah grew up on Eigg and had recently returned to the land where her uncle was once a tenant farmer.²²² The notion of roots to the land relates to the individual crofters' connection to their landscape, and to the larger sense of the relationship to this landscape in Scottish culture. This landscape is deeply embedded with romanticism, whilst also retaining the harsh realities of habitation. This makes crofters such as Sarah starting her own family in this setting even more poignant, building a life in this remote environment. In terms of islander life in locations such as Eigg, this is further romanticised by the history of 'a people whose history is circumscribed by Clearance, emigration, hardship, revolt and uncommon resilience. Simultaneously they record a rich culture, lived on the far margins of metropolitan life, but redolent of human values.'²²³ This series illustrates these elements of the land and gives a personal view of the female crofting community in Scotland, challenging the perception of traditional roles taking place in such landscapes.

The use of quotations from the crofters provided by Gerrard enriches this series. As with Raffles' use of quotes from her subjects, the interaction between image and text enhances the series, revealing the thoughts and concerns of the subjects. The St Andrews Photographic Collection ensures that each image has its associated caption when viewed online. Price and Wells argue that 'increasingly, our access to photographs is online, and new kinds of

²²² Gerrard, "Drawn to the Land."

²²³ Normand, *Scottish Photography: A History*, 121.

contextual format are being created. In these hybrid forms there is little sense of an image that is carefully framed and contextualised.²²⁴ This is negated by the St Andrews archive and its collaboration with Gerrard, as with the other photographers of the collective. The photographs are shown as the photographer intended, alongside the contextual information that they have provided. Thus, rather than the quality of the series being lost online, the archive is able to create a fully curated presentation of such photographic projects.

In this case, the connection to the land is emphasised throughout the added context of the quotes in the *Drawn to the Land* series. As a crofter featured in the series, Mary McCall Smith, puts it, ‘I see myself not as a landowner but as custodian of this beautiful place, I feel I have a moral obligation and responsibility to leave it as good if not better than it was when I came here.’²²⁵ Inheriting the farm in Perthshire from her father, Mary embodies the crofting tradition. Daniels states that ‘national identities are co-ordinated, often largely defined, by ‘legends and landscapes,’ by stories of golden ages, enduring traditions, heroic deeds and dramatic destinies located in ancient or promised home-lands with hallowed sites and scenery.’²²⁶ Through people such as Mary and the other crofters featured, this mystical sense of crofting identity and integral connection to the land, carrying on ancient traditions rooted in Scottish nationhood. However, Gerrard’s images also convey a sense of the everyday lives

²²⁴ Derrick Price and Liz Wells, “Thinking About Photography: Debates, Historically and Now,” in *Photography: A Critical Introduction*, ed. Liz Wells (London: Routledge, 2015) 71.

²²⁵ Gerrard, “Drawn to the Land.”

²²⁶ Stephen Daniels, *Fields of Vision: Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England and the United States* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993) 5.

of the farm, grounding the crofters in the landscape yet presenting a more relatable and modern Scottish identity.

As seen in the previous series from the collective which have been discussed, the idea of Scottish identity is rooted not only in traditions but in the landscape itself and the inhabitant's relationship to it. This is true of all the women featured in the project, whether inheriting longstanding crofts or returning to family roots to build new ventures. The value of Gerrard's images is further enhanced by her contribution of captions and quotations to each catalogue entry in the collection. This aspect, even more so than previously discussed series, enhances the depth and intimacy of the series through the context and quotes from the women pictured, conveying a strong sense of their lives in this landscape. As Rosler states, documentary photographs ought to be 'made with a clarity that neither sells short the lives of the people shown nor pretends not to notice the built-in meanings of photographic discourse.'²²⁷ Gerrard's project achieves this through her representation of the working women and her use of photography and text within the archive entries. The project expands a perception of the nation in which women have been previously overlooked. The women crofters reflect a relationship with the land that is present in many aspects of Scottish heritage and culture, showing the significance of the landscape to its inhabitants and the importance of documenting people such as this for the part they play on the Scottish land.

Exhibitions

The collaboration between Document Scotland and the St Andrews Photographic Collection allows for this material to be used in diverse ways. As well as access to the images online by

²²⁷ Rosler, "In, Around, and Afterthoughts (On documentary photography)," 92.

anyone across the globe, and physical access to prints through the library reading room, the archive is also able to use this collection to showcase the work in other ways. In 2016 the archive organised the first St Andrews Photography Festival, drawing on the great tradition of innovative photography taking place in the town since the medium's invention. This festival includes a number of exhibitions all over the town in local venues, as well as outdoor exhibitions. For this first year of displays, Document Scotland's work was shown on the railings of The Scores - an area along the coastline in a popular part of town near to the golf course. This showcased a range of material from each of the photographer's projects, such as Gerrard's series *Drawn to the Land* (fig. 3.18). The festival programme stated that 'Scotland has engaged in a period of intense debate and self-examination in recent years. Document Scotland ... has made a powerful contribution to this dialogue through their work, which explores the issue of identity as experienced as an individual, as a community and as a nation.'²²⁸ As such, the exhibition showcased the significance of the collection to the St Andrews archive, and to Scottish documentary photography. Each image was printed on large weather-proof canvas and attached to the railings along The Scores. Being an outdoor exhibition, the material was available to be viewed twenty-four hours a day for the entirety of the festival, creating a unique way of displaying photographs that was accessible to everyone.

The collaboration between the archive and the collective allows for greater ease and curation of exhibitions such as this. As working photographers, they can provide high quality digital image files, therefore allowing greater printing options for the material used in displays. This allows the archive to save time by not having to scan each image for their own database, as

²²⁸ Rachel Nordstrom, "St Andrews Photography Festival Programme 2016."

well as enriching each image with the associated catalogue text given by each photographer, as previously discussed. The high-quality files allow for larger prints such as the outdoor canvas to be made to a high standard for display. Collaboration between artist and archive also allows for greater choice in exhibitions to suit both the photographer's and the collection's needs; in this case the archive asked the Document Scotland members to make their own selections of the images to be displayed.²²⁹ The archive then printed the material for use in the festival. This interaction enables a working relationship with the collective and the St Andrews collection, providing a beneficial way to display these photographic works to promote each photographer, as well as the archive collections, and ultimately the tradition of Scottish documentary photography.

The notion of collaboration extends to the photographers themselves. A group exhibition entitled *A Contested Land* at the Martin Parr Foundation in Bristol in early 2019 displayed the work of the collective.²³⁰ The works displayed in the exhibition 'reflect upon Scotland's precarious environmental and economic landscape, within ongoing political conflicts that give these issues relevance and urgency.'²³¹ This featured images of protests in Glasgow by Sutton-Hibbert in *Let Glasgow Flourish*, Gerrard's aforementioned series *The Flows*, McPherson's project of life on the Hebridean island of Easdale, *Treasured Island*, and McLaren's series building on his work on Scottish the slave trade, *Edinburgh Unchained*.

²²⁹ Rachel Nordstrom interview 2/11/18.

²³⁰ See: <https://www.martinparrfoundation.org/exhibitions/a-contested-land/>

²³¹ Martin Parr Foundation, "A Contested Land." Accessed 25/3/19.

<https://www.martinparrfoundation.org/exhibitions/a-contested-land/>.

McPherson states that ‘we wanted to show the diversity of Scotland within the idea of a project based around ‘land’ and to be able to stretch the imagination of our audiences to think beyond the obvious. As always, that’s a difficult task, but one I think we have achieved through *A Contested Land*, the title we settled on for the four individual bodies of work.’²³² As with the projects discussed in this chapter, these individual projects come together to form a collective body of work exploring issues and themes within the Scottish nation. The idea of identity is present in each photographers’ series, enhancing the overall exhibition. The notion of collaboration by these photographers comes together to create a strong exhibition of documentary photography, creating a portrait of Scotland at this moment in time. As with collaborating with archives and institutions such as the Martin Parr Foundation, the collaboration between the photographers enriches each photographic series to form a vital body of documentary photography that will inform audiences on the shape of the nation for generations to come.

Conclusion

The Document Scotland collection at the St Andrews Photographic Collection provides an example of how modern archives preserve and promote contemporary work. The way in which the St Andrews archive deals with the digital aspect of this material points towards the standard way in which archives and collections will manage digital assets in the future. In acquiring contemporary work, the practices of archives continue to evolve in alignment with digital technologies. As we have seen, this can lead to a number of advantages for the

²³² Colin McPherson, “A Contested Land: Behind the Lens #4,” accessed 23/3/19.

<http://www.documentscotland.com/a-contested-land-behind-the-lens-4/>.

collection, such as the acquisition of high-quality files without having to digitise material, greater context with catalogue entries and ongoing acquisitions from photographers.

However, Document Scotland importantly acknowledges traditional archival practices by giving physical prints to the collection, enabling the material to be viewed in person at events and talks. This collection also emphasises the relationship between photographer and archive, as they are able to provide a mutually beneficial agreement that helps and promotes both sides. The collaboration between archives and working photographers is an efficient way to enliven the archive with contemporary material, and secure photographers' work for posterity.

Document Scotland's significance as a photographic collective is important not just to Scottish photography but to contemporary documentary practices. Forming at the time of the Independence Referendum, their practice documents events that are crucial to the nation's history as well as exploring the notion of what it is to live in Scotland at this time. As seen with McPherson's work on the referendum campaigns, debates surrounding the Scottish nation have been sparked in recent years and remain relevant in the years following the outcome of the vote. Documenting this turbulent time in history provides a unique body of photographic work and will inform future audiences of the nation at a historic moment in time. As McLaren's project emphasises, throughout these tumultuous times, a sense of Scottish identity is present across the country. Found in the people and places portrayed in these photographs, Scottish culture and landscape are highlighted as vital elements that present the notion of what it is to be Scottish to a global audience. Within this notion, longstanding traditions play a large part across the country, as seen with Sutton-Hibbert's work. The sense of national identity is heavily invested in these traditions, the inhabitants of the nation ensuring that historic traditions continue regardless of modern-day restructuring.

Finally, Gerrard's portrayal of female crofters encompasses these themes, presenting a modern view of agriculture that challenges gender roles whilst continuing traditions and preserving a historic and mythical link to the landscape.

As previously stated by the collective, the landscape of Scotland is an ever-present concern in the idea of Scottish identity. This theme of land and place running through each photographers' work emphasises the significance of this to the Scottish people. By coming together as a collective, each photographers' work across different areas and themes across the country connect to create a portrait of the nation at this time. The acquisition of contemporary documentary work such as this by the St Andrews Photographic Collection is vital not only to inform the archive with contemporary works, but to secure such important images for future generations. The placement of Document Scotland within this archive will position the photographers within the long lineage of Scottish documentary photographers, providing a document of Scotland at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

Conclusion

The three case studies discussed in this thesis make up a significant part of the St Andrews Photographic Collection. A range of archival issues are able to be explored through these collections. The importance of the collections within traditions of Scottish documentary photography is also apparent when discussing this material.

The materiality of the archive plays a significant role in positioning the material within the archive and within contexts of documentary photography. As we have seen, the organisation of such physical material is vital not only to the photographs preservation, but to the information held within the archive that informs the character and practice of the photographers themselves. With Cowie's collection, although he himself gave the material to the archive, the perceptions of photographic archives at this time meant that most documentation around Cowie and his business was omitted from the acquisition. Therefore, the archive's preservation of his sequencing system for his photographs retains a sense of Cowie's practice as a photographer that is otherwise lacking within the collection material. The Raffles collection is even more significant in terms of materiality, due to the large amount of photographic material and the vast documentation element within the collection. The organisation of this material by the archive has enabled this body of work to become a unique collection encompassing a photographic career. Through supplementary material such as contact sheets, reports and diaries, Raffles' photographic practice is fully on show, which provides the context for her projects as well as creating a personal insight into Raffles herself. In terms of Document Scotland, the materiality of this collection shifts into the digital realms, pointing towards future archival practices when working with contemporary photographers. The acquisition of digital image files directly from the photographers avoids many lengthy

digitisation and cataloguing processes. This also enables the photographers to provide the exact catalogue information for each image, allowing the photographic series to retain their contexts within the archive.

The work held in the St Andrews Photographic Collection allows for exploration and reinterpretation through the preservation and promotion of the material by the archive. As discussed, this has led to exhibitions and interpretations of this work. Cowie's photography provides an interesting collection in this sense as the focus has been on either presenting Cowie as a documentary photographer, or as a sports photographer. Future exhibitions and research may elaborate on this further, positioning Cowie's work within the press context of his photography. The preservation of collections such as this exemplifies the range of themes and material available to be researched. The recent exhibition of Raffles photography by the Glasgow School of Art highlights the importance of materiality in the collection, displaying objects such as contact sheets and working prints as well as hanging conventional prints on the wall. This creates a sense of Raffles as a working woman, re-imaging her material to emphasise her feminist photography practice. As Document Scotland are a collective currently creating images, the presentation of their work can be curated in collaboration with institutions. In terms of the collaboration with the St Andrews archive, this process is more easily achieved with the format of the material given to the collection, the large image files enabling the archive to create new prints for display whilst retaining the contexts associated with each project through contact with the photographers themselves.

These aspects of the archive demonstrate the practicalities of holding such material. This preservation and promotion which the St Andrews collection carries out enables the investigation of each photographers practice and place within photographic traditions. The

George M. Cowie collection provides a valuable record of St Andrews over five decades. With his career as a photojournalist in mind, the collection gives an insight not only into the town of St Andrews at this time, but into issues of authorship and collaboration within a press archive. This provides a resource of Scottish photojournalism in the twentieth century that records life in St Andrews from everyday events to historic moments such as the Second World War. The Franki Raffles collection preserves a photographic collection from a life cut short, retaining a vital body of feminist photography. Her projects set in Scotland provide a document of the life of working women in Edinburgh during the 1980s and raise issues of violence and abuse that are still relevant today. Her photographic career in the time of second wave feminism created an important body of work which can inform feminist photography practices in the present day. The Document Scotland collection is building an important archive of Scottish documentary photography as an ongoing process. This important work that records historic moments in the nation's history such as the Independence Referendum will stand testament to the history of Scotland and the use of documentary photography at this time. Exploring themes of the land, place, traditions and gender within Scottish identity, Document Scotland provide a dynamic contemporary aspect to the archive, recording modern day issues and events to present to current and future viewers of such photographic work.

The St Andrews Photographic Collection holding such material places it within a certain context of Scottish photography, drawing from the nation's rich history associated with the medium. The three photographic collections studied here provide significant contributions to this history, illustrating the history and culture of Scotland within these photographic projects. As seen from the medium's beginnings with Hill & Adamson, documentary photography remains an important concern in the twentieth and twenty-first century Scottish photography. The St Andrews Photographic Collection upholds this historic link with

Scottish documentary photography, acquiring and preserving collections such as those discussed in this thesis to form a record of society and culture within Scotland. The archive, an active resource, places these photographers within the legacy of Scottish photography by holding this vital work and retaining individual contexts, exemplifying Scottish documentary photography for current viewers and future generations.

Figures



Figure I.2 David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson. “The Fishergate, St Andrews,” 1845. University of St Andrews. SAUL ID: ALB-77-4.



Figure 1.1 Beatrice Govan. ‘George M. Cowie in his studio,’ 1975. University of St Andrews. SAUL ID: GPS-CowieGM-1.

ST. ANDREWS MAN'S CHURCH WEDDING.

Fish Box for a Cot. Daily Dip in the Sea.



[Photo: G. M. Cowie, St Andrews]

The village of Kingsham has turned a month or two old, but it manages, by expending slowly to drain the

RELUCTANT TO LEAVE WATER. "I take it down to the sea every day when the tide is out, but I don't go down to a peak," said Mr. Nettle. "I can't swim, and I don't like to interpose. "It enjoys itself immensely and puts up a fight when I have to take it out again, but it would be provoked if I took the spot where it lives. It also likes to get out on the grass in front of my house, where it rolls about, whimpers like a child at dinner, but

Mr Archibald Ritchie decided to take care of the seal, and found a temporary home for it in a fish box lined with

Heavens! The moment of the arrival of the stranger caused considerable commotion, and, of course, the police were called. The victim, and many of the residents inspected him.

Hierings several times a day are what the "lady" insisted on. It is characteristically young, and is particularly lively, very energetic, and strenuously objects to being touched, snapping at anyone who approaches it too closely. It is not a dog, but a cat, and it is only a few days old.

rightful place in the general scheme, and Christian morality was found to have been distorted by the influence of the various preoccupations and brought to focus more effectively on a still larger area of human thought and action.

MODERN CHALLENGE OF SEX. Sexual morality as one of the modern challenges to the development of Christian morality was the subject of Dr. Hirsch's second lecture on Wednesday night. They were concerned in that lecture, but not in this one, with the question of the natural effect of sex, admittedly the ultimate root of many, perhaps most, of the problems of modern society.

Christianity, which had been entirely positive in its attitude toward sex, was now ignored or inadequately recognized, said Dr. Hirsch. The modern attitude toward sex was a fact, but by its avowed and apparent repudiation of the ascetic principles which had been the traditional morality of Christianity.

FEMINIST MOVEMENT. "The feminist movement is its store of creative development in its struggle and its search for a new synthesis," said Dr. Hirsch. "The facilities for divorce which mark the marriage code of some countries are a direct result of the feminist movement, which is in the process of being reconciled with the Christian view."

[illegible]

Figure 1.4 George M. Cowie. ‘Baby Seal at Kingsbarns,’ 1936. University of St Andrews.
SAUL ID: GMC-EA-37-B.

The Chairman pointed out that the matter would automatically go to the Finance Committee. He did not think it would be doing any harm to allow it to go there.



Fife County Council, at a meeting at Cupar on Tuesday, agreed to approach Members of Parliament with a view to having public-house licences in certain towns reviewed in order to reduce the number of alleged bona-fide travellers who were visiting Fife and damaging air raid shelters.

He remembered that a party of men were returning to his pavilion, and he remained behind to meet them. He had gone home at the usual time, he would have been in the kitchen, where he usually worked, by flying fragments. In this particular attack most of the people at home had fled. Only one of the young occupants received serious injury. One young girl from this family, who was a devotee of the Chinese chi practice, She returned home, she and her family had not time to reach their shelter before they heard the "plane, then, Bang, Bang, Bang" on the floor of one of the back rooms, the mother lying on her girl to protect her from the flying fragments. The room towards the front door nearly eight yards. Most of the wounds were showing signs of infection, and the victim died of small cuts and bruising.

yards. Another bomb dropped 200 yards away and a third nearer the town.

MEDALS PICKED UP.

One of the articles picked up was a box containing medals gained by Mr. Alexander Scott, who was a driver in the Royal Artillery in the last war.

"I was working at the farm," said Mr. John Pryde, "when I heard the noise of a plane above me. Machine-gun bullets struck the roofs round me and I had to dive for shelter. One of the bombs hit the roof of Mr. Scott's cottage about 300 yards away. I rushed to give what help I could. I met William Scott, who shouted, 'My mother's away, but Douglas is still alive.' William was badly injured."

"We found the body of Mrs. Scott, who had probably been in an upstairs room, lying on top of the debris. She had been killed instantly. We helped to extricate

Mr Scott and his son. Both were seriously injured and were removed to hospital.

Brigade General Crook, Midwestern, who presided, said a very serious state of affairs had been brought to the notice of the County A.E.P. Committee. At week-ends, he said, there was a large influx from certain cities to adjacent areas over a three mile limit. A temptation was formed and readily accepted by a very considerable number of the population of these cities. In one bunch, there were some of thousands of persons who were there on Saturdays and Sundays, spending their time very largely in drinking and debauchery. They were invited to do so because they called themselves hick-fife travellers. That, he said, was a misnomer. They were not male fife

minations. They were not near his home, but about 10 miles from it, in a situation that offered the A.R.P. Committee some security, so that these men, who were not even members of the A.R.P., could be the enemy bomber, and it was quite possible that owing to this influx there would be a considerable increase in the number of particular districts. A serious matter also was that they were making arrangements to leave the area, and to go to a very dangerous state of affairs, because they were unacceptable by the people for whom they were intended. The A.R.P. Committee, therefore, had to make a recommendation, provided for the normal inhabitants of these areas was being used for the purpose of the A.R.P. Committee, for whom provision had already been made. It was not an equipment of the A.R.P. Committee, but it was beyond the sections of districts, which had been done, and it was now suggested that the A.R.P. Committee should be in a position to make a recommendation. The A.R.P. Committee were in a position to make a recommendation, and the A.R.P. Committee were in a position to have the end result. The Council also agreed that members of the A.R.P. Committee should be in a position to have the end result.

SUGAR FOR JAM.
Complaints that the recent distribution of sugar for jam-making was inequitable, was made at the meeting.
The matter was raised by Mr J. Morris, Saltaire, who claimed that the distribution had been badly arranged. Many people got sugar and found that they had not used for it, while others with the need, got none at all. If any further sugar was to be made available, he hoped every household would get the opportunity of participation.

Intimation was made by Major H. Robert Spencer-Nairn, Convener of the Finance Committee, that the Council's Provisional Order, under which they sought to become the water authority for the county, had now passed through both Houses of Parliament and was awaiting the Royal assent.

CHIEF CONSTABLE'S SALARY

As only eight members voted in favour of the proposition of the Standing Orders, it was agreed that a proposal to increase the maximum salary of Chief Constable Victor G. Savi from £900 to £1000 per annum should not be considered.

The Chairman pointed out that under the Standing Orders salary increases could only be granted during the months of March and May. Accordingly three-quarters of the members present would require to vote in favour of the suspension of the Standing Orders otherwise the matter could not be considered.

Only eight members voted in favour of suspension, and it was agreed that the matter should not be considered.

AUCHTERMURCHY POLICE STATION.
The County Clerk, Mr. J. M. Mitchell, intimated that in a communication, the Festivals Home Department favoured a new site for the erection of a police station at Auchtermurphy other than the site at present occupied. The matter would be brought before the Police Committee at their next meeting.

Mr. John Cameron, Thornton, convener of the Police Committee, said they had no intention of alighting Auchtermurphy Town Council, who had made representations in the matter. The Police Committee were influenced by the fact that the site originally chosen (the site of the present police building), belonged to the town.

Mr David Adamson, Auchtermuchty, observed that while he did not agree with all the Town Council had said, he thought they ought to try to take them with them in the matter.

Mr Oswald, Auchtermuchty, asked if there was any reason why the original plans for building on the present site had been turned down, and the County Clerk replied that that would be given at the next meeting of the Public Commission.

PASSING OF MEMBERS.
The Chairman referred to the loss sustained by the Council by the death of Mr H. S. Patterson, Falkland, and Mr John Gray, Cowdenbeath. It was agreed to send an excerpt of the minute to the relatives.

Examination Results at

Examination Results at

Democracy in War Time

St Andrews University Students' De

Students of St Andrews University Monday night, by a large majority, find the present national emergency and the curtailment of democratic rights. This was the first of the new new debates of the Men's Union. Mr R. was in the chair.

The affirmative was moved by Mr. Morrison. He held that the overruling majority of them wanted to win the war and he did not think that even those

and we do not think that even those at the top of the hierarchy should be allowed to roll off the war charge to Utopian ideas any longer. After war and giving his definition of the use of real democracy, the speaker went on to discuss the importance of political freedom and economic freedom. The second was the more important without it there could be no so freedom. A nation at war must control its economy, government, and control and loyal spirit. Only by means could they achieve the result all desired. This of necessity meant they must surrender for the time being some of their rights. In certain danger in taking such steps there might be difficulty in seeing these things which they gave up in



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Figure 1.7 George M. Cowie. 'Gas Mask fitting, St Andrews,' 1940. University of St Andrews. SAUL ID: GMC-FE-394-16.



Figure 1.8 George M. Cowie. 'Winston Churchill, General Sikorski and Mrs C Churchill at the West Sands, St Andrews,' 1940. University of St Andrews. SAUL ID: GMC-FI-167-23.



Figure 1.9 George M. Cowie. 'Winston Churchill and Mrs C Churchill at the West Sands, St Andrews,' 1940. University of St Andrews. SAUL ID: GMC-FI-167-27.

SELF-DRIVE
HIRE
TELEPHONE
73041
at
JET PETROL

St Andrews Citizen

No. 5725 SATURDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1980. Price 10p

SELF-DRIVE
HIRE
TELEPHONE
73041
at
JET PETROL

IN BRIEF

GOODIE GOLF!
University Rover Tim Brooke Taylor will be in St Andrews this weekend to take part in a challenge golf match.

The match pits the "Goodies", comprising Mr. Brooke Taylor, students, teachers and other donors, against the "Buddies", who are in the main, members of the press.

The challenge, to be played over the Old Course, starts at 11 a.m. when the first foursome including Mr. Brooke Taylor will tee off, and is a replay of the match which was played off a hole.

The Brooke Taylor is claiming a handicap of 28.

SCHOOLBOY INJURED
A 15-year-old St Andrews boy was injured late on Saturday afternoon when his bicycle was in collision with a car.

John Brown, of 18 Canongate, was riding his cycle along Canongate when, at the junction with Lange Road, he was involved in a collision with a motorcar being driven by John Phillips (24), of 14 Leith Road West, St. Andrews.

John was taken to Dundee Royal Infirmary with fractures to his hand. A fractured leg and initial injuries were also reported.

A hospital spokesman described his condition as "moderately comfortable".

ANDREW'S ACE
Andrew Davidson, a 28-year-old member of St Andrews Golf Club, scored his second hole-in-one in two consecutive weeks.

Two hard-fought Andrees, who took at 47 Canongate, St. Andrews, on the south side of the Old Course, were a fore-run, while playing in a house match with three and Michael Brown.

The first hole in one was scored last night at the south end of the Old Course.

PADDLING BACK IN TIME

Owners' anger after let to students

Our flat has been wrecked

by Craig Nisbet

A recently modernised and completely refurbished flat in the centre of St Andrews, which was let to students last term, was wrecked and left "as if animals had lived in it," claimed the owners.

The wife of the owner, a Dundee businessman, told the 'Citizen' this week, "no animal could have left the flat the way we found it," and she added that she and her husband will be reconsidering the idea of modernising another flat in the town to let to students.

Visitors reports of the condition the flat was found in were in the flat contained her anger and asked if they could figure the flat with a third party, apparently that was agreed and the owners thought no more of the matter until their recent visit.

She explained that at the time the flat was let to students, she and her husband were in the flat and saw the damage first-hand. She said that the flat was a good one and had been let to students for a long time. She said that the flat was a good one and had been let to students for a long time. She said that the flat was a good one and had been let to students for a long time.

She said that the flat was a good one and had been let to students for a long time. She said that the flat was a good one and had been let to students for a long time. She said that the flat was a good one and had been let to students for a long time.

Detention for youth who stole bus

A 16-year-old St Andrews schoolboy who, earlier this year, stole a bus from St. Andrews and took it to City Road and then drove it around St. Andrews, was sentenced to three months in a detention centre at Camp Sheriff Court on Wednesday.

In April this year the youth appeared before Sheriff John C. McInnes in Cupar when he admitted stealing the bus and then driving it on Leven Road without insurance and without a licence. At that time, however, as the youth was detained for six months for good behaviour.

However, when he appeared in Court on Wednesday Sheriff McInnes was told that last month the youth appeared in the Sheriff Court on four charges of malicious damage and two charges of assault.

On top of the period of detention centre, involving Sheriff McInnes handed the youth from doing for nine months.

SUNDAY CHEMIST
The following chemist will be open on Sunday, October 19, between the hours of 12 noon and 1 p.m. — G. H. Davidson, 41 New Market Drive.

Forty years after the Polish invasion...

The Polish invasion of South East Fife received a distinguished — and secret — chapter during 1941. From Minister Winston Churchill down to a minor soldier, all were proud of the great man's visit.

This month marks the 40th anniversary of the arrival of the Polish forces in the St Andrews area, an event which has had long-lasting repercussions on the life and history of the town.

The 'Citizen' marks the anniversary of the Polish 'invasion' with a special feature on page six.

Figure 1.8 St Andrews Citizen, 18th October 1980.



Figure 1.10 George M. Cowie. 'Queen Elizabeth's Visit, Outside the Town Hall, South Street, St Andrews; the Queen with Provost Tulloch and Mrs Dewer,' 1950. University of St Andrews. SAUL ID: GMC-3-29-10.



Figure 1.11 George M. Cowie. 'Queen Elizabeth's Visit, South Street, St Andrews from the Town Hall, with crowds and the royal car,' 1950. University of St Andrews. SAUL ID: GMC-3-26-1.



Figure 1.12 George M. Cowie. 'Queen Elizabeth's Visit, Arriving at Younger Hall, North Street, St Andrews,' 1950. University of St Andrews. SAUL ID: GMC-3-29-6.



Figure 1.13 George M. Cowie. 'Queen Elizabeth's Visit, Outside the Town Hall, South Street, St Andrews; the Queen with Provost Tulloch and Mrs Dewar,' 1950. University of St Andrews. SAUL ID: GMC-3-27-7.

Pictures - George Cowie
Musicals - Jay Drey



SALE SALE SALE

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<p>1/2 PRICE</p> <p>MODERN 3 BAYERS PLACE SUITE</p> <p>1/2 PRICE</p> <p>BEAUTIFUL 2 BAYERS 1/2 FINISH CORNER CABINET W/AL</p> <p>ROSEWOOD 2 BAYERS 1/2 CORNER CABINET W/AL</p>	<p>Original Price</p> <p>\$209.95</p> <p>\$279.95</p> <p>\$299.95</p> <p>Half price</p> <p>\$104.98</p> <p>\$139.98</p>
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Figure 1.15 St Andrews Citizen, October 1982.



Figure 1.16 George M. Cowie. 'Bing Crosby golf practice at St Andrews,' 1950. University of St Andrews. SAUL ID: GMC-1-31-2.



Figure 1.17 George M. Cowie. 'Motorcycle speed races on the West Sands, St Andrews,' 1951. University of St Andrews. SAUL ID: GMC-33-21-1.



Figure 1.18 George M. Cowie. 'Sandbags at the Post Office, South Street, St Andrews,' 1939. University of St Andrews. SAUL ID: GMC-4-2-4.



Figure 2.1 Franki Raffles. Contact Sheet, 1987-88. University of St Andrews.

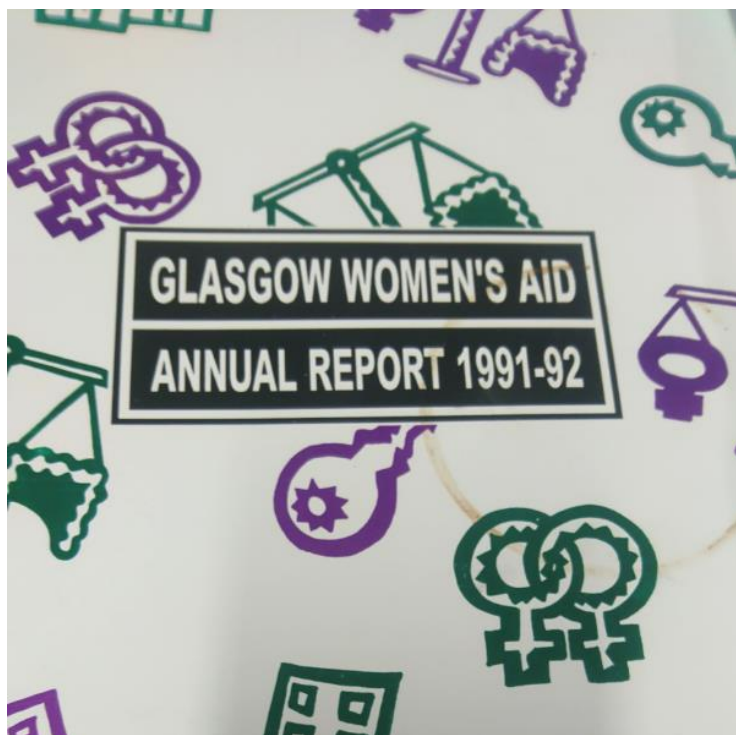


Figure 2.2 Franki Raffles Collection. Glasgow Women's Aid Annual Report 1991-2. University of St Andrews.

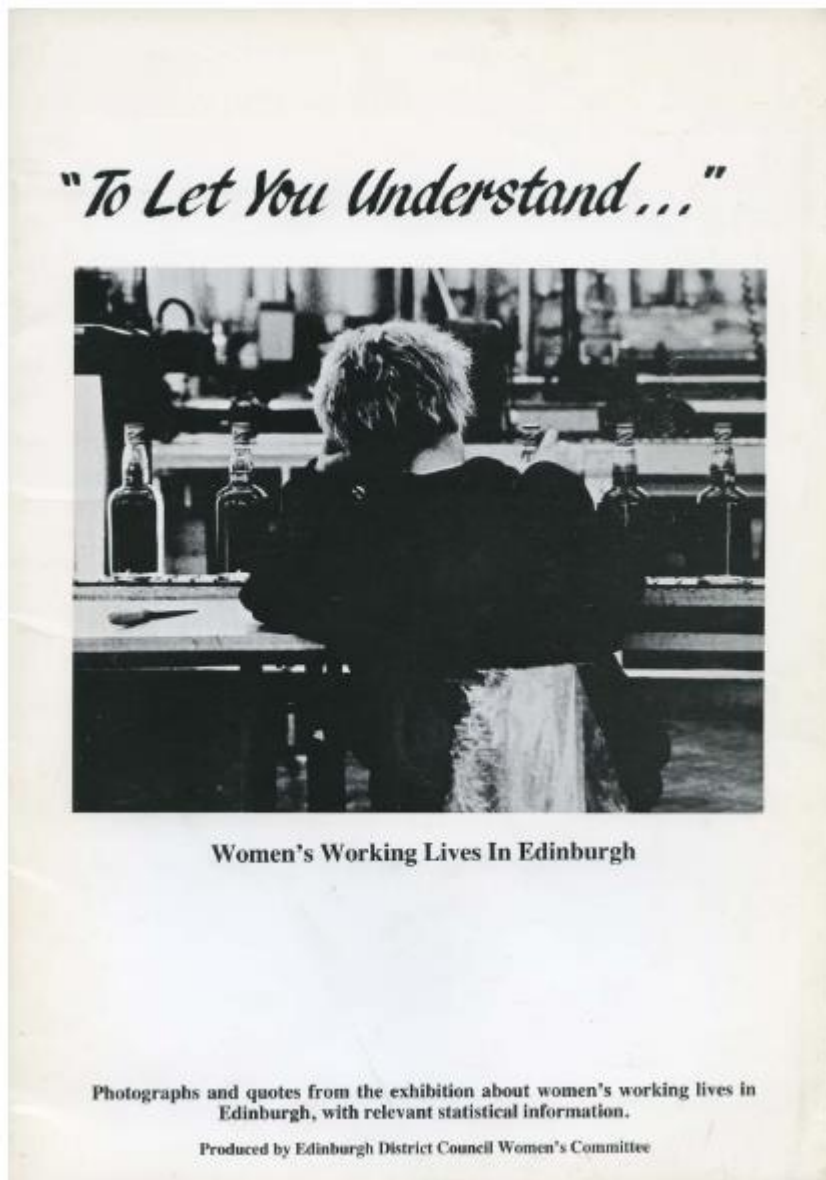


Figure 2.3 Franki Raffles. *To Let You Understand...: Women's Working Lives in Edinburgh*, 1988. Edinburgh District Council Women's Committee.



Figure 2.4 Franki Raffles. *To Let You Understand...: Women's Working Lives in Edinburgh*, 1988. Edinburgh District Council Women's Committee.

"Staff are not the same as they used to be. They go where the money is."

Personnel Manager, Retail Industry

"There's not much choice of jobs these days."

Checkout Worker, Retail Industry

"Nobody seems to realise how important our work is to the hospitals. It's not just us who will suffer when private contractors take over."

Laundry Worker, National Health Service

At present hospital domestics earn an hourly rate of £2.02 and school cleaners £2.45. The average rate paid by private contractors in Scotland is £1.45 per hour, though one company is known to pay as little as £1.00 per hour.

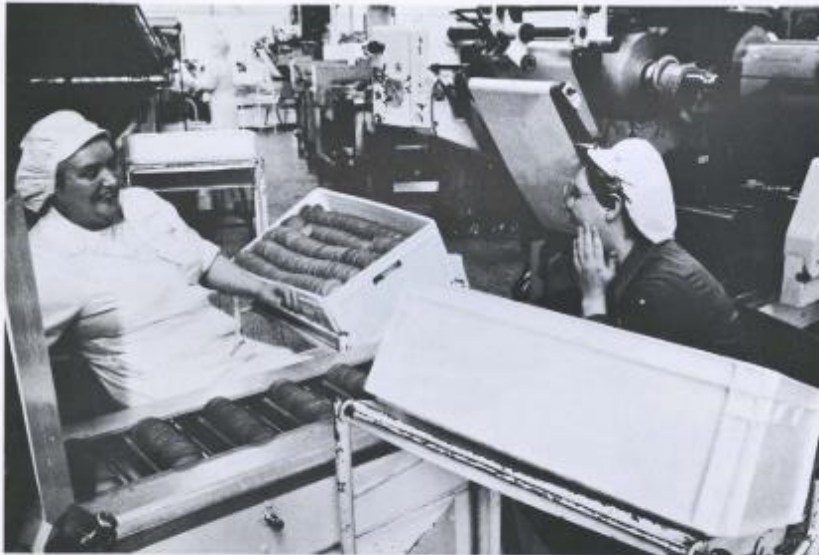
"Ten years ago hardly anyone knew what a Unit Trust was, these days everybody knows about them. It's since all this privatisation. British Telecom started it. There's plenty of money around, but it's the same people who've got it."

Clerical Worker, Banking Industry

Wage rates at the levels paid by many private contractors remove pension entitlements, employment protection measures, sick pay and maternity schemes from large numbers of women workers.

"It'll be contract cleaning soon and that'll be the end of us. They'll offer us jobs, of course, but no-one will take them — who'd work the same hours for half the pay?"

Cleaner, Local Authority



"I've worked here a long time. You know how it is, you work in a place a few years and then you have to start thinking about long-term things and employment rights and pensions. It might be different when this PEP thing starts, but I'm not sure."

Line Worker, Food Manufacturing

Figure 2.5 Franki Raffles. *To Let You Understand...: Women's Working Lives in Edinburgh*, 1988. Edinburgh District Council Women's Committee.



Figure 2.6 Franki Raffles. 'Woman holds protest boards,' 1987-88. University of St Andrews.



Figure 2.7 Franki Raffles, 1987-88, Contact Sheet, University of St Andrews.



Figure 2.8 Franki Raffles. 'Two women in white coats walk down a corridor,' 1987-88. University of St Andrews.

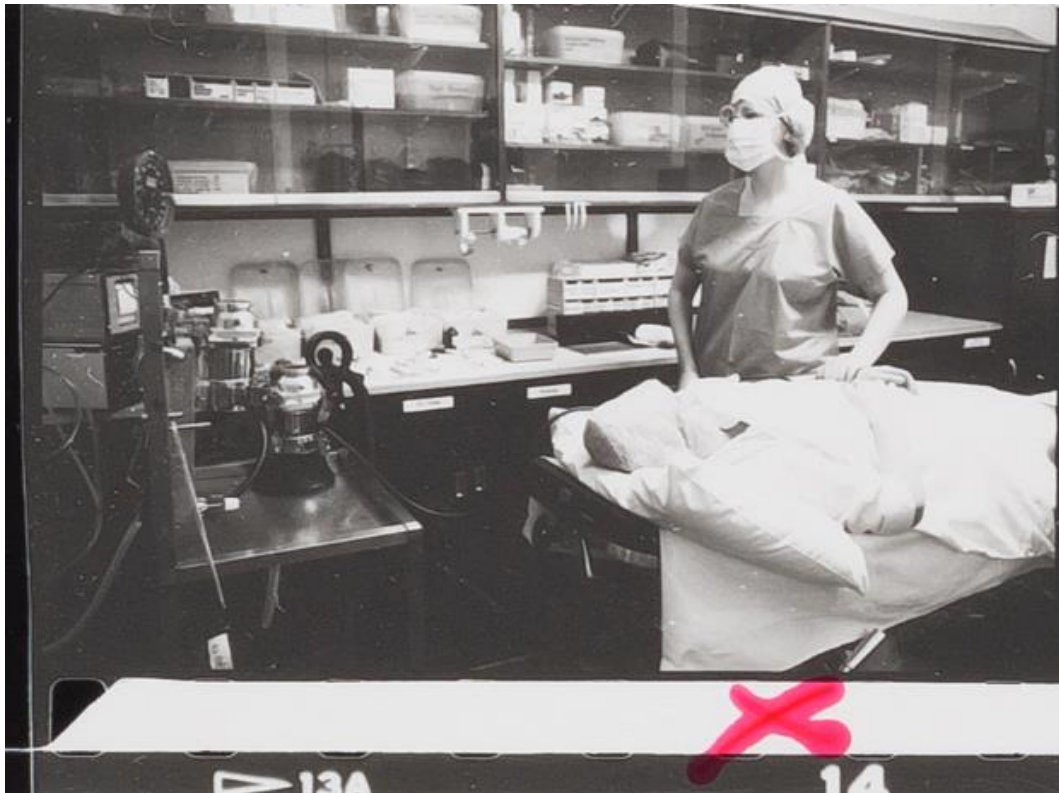


Figure 2.9 Franki Raffles. Contact Sheet, 1987-88. University of St Andrews.



Figure 2.10 Franki Raffles. Contact Sheet, 1987-88. University of St Andrews.



Figure 2.11 Franki Raffles. Zero Tolerance Poster, 1992. The Franki Raffles Estate.

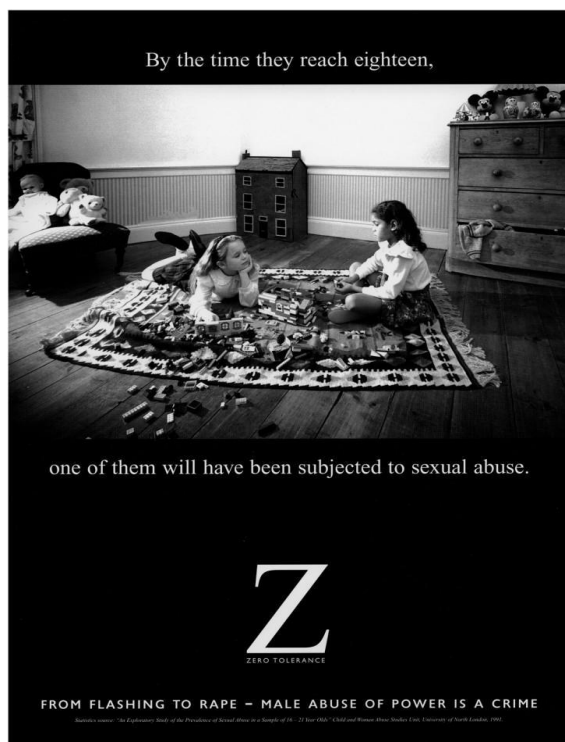


Figure 2.12 Franki Raffles. Zero Tolerance Poster, 1992. The Franki Raffles Estate.



Figure 2.13 Franki Raffles. Zero Tolerance Posters on Princes Street, Edinburgh, 1992. The Franki Raffles Estate.



Figure 2.14 Alicia Bruce. Zero Tolerance exhibition, 2018. Image courtesy of Stills.



Figure 2.15 Franki Raffles. Zero Tolerance Working Print, 1991-2. University of St Andrews. SAUL ID: 2014-4-ZT022.



Figure 2.16 Franki Raffles. Zero Tolerance Poster on bus shelter, Edinburgh, 1992. University of St Andrews. SAUL ID: 2014-4-ZT031.



Figure 2.17 Franki Raffles. Zero Tolerance Poster information cards, 1992. University of St Andrews. SAUL ID: 2014-4-ZTset1a-j.

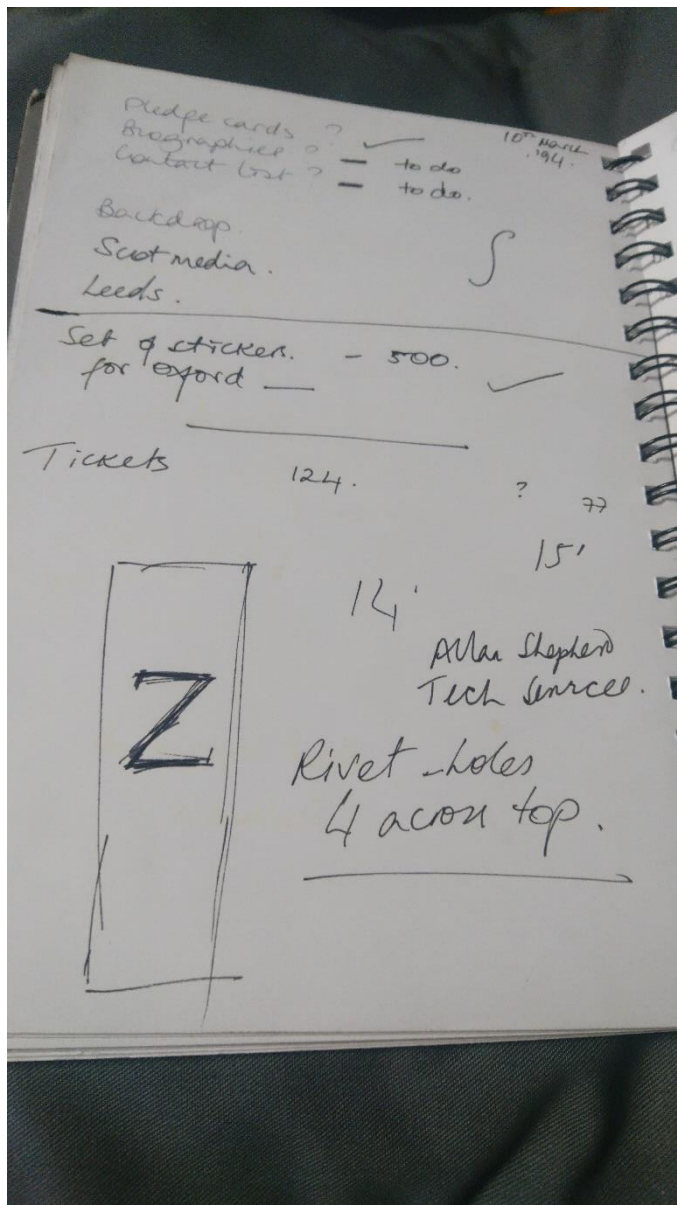


Figure 2.18 Franki Raffles. Raffles' Notebook, 1991-2. University of St Andrews.



Figure 2.19 Hackney Flashers. 'Observing Women at Work' Exhibition, 2017. Reid Gallery, Glasgow School of Art.



Figure 2.20 'Observing Women at Work' Exhibition, 2017. Reid Gallery, Glasgow School of Art.



Figure 2.21 Franki Raffles. 'Kvaerner, Govan,' 1987-8. 'Observing Women at Work' Exhibition, 2017. Reid Gallery, Glasgow School of Art.



Figure 2.22 'Observing Women at Work' Exhibition, 2017. Reid Gallery, Glasgow School of Art.



Figure 2.23 ‘Art Scrubber’ Event. ‘Observing Women at Work’ Exhibition, 2017. Reid Gallery, Glasgow School of Art.



Figure 3.1 Stephen McLaren. *Jamaica: A Sweet Forgetting*, Seminar, University of St Andrews. Image writers own.



Figure 3.2 Colin McPherson. 'Scotland – Aberdeen,' *Scotland Before the Independence Referendum*, 2014. University of St Andrews. SAUL ID: 2014-1-109.



Figure 3.3 Colin McPherson. 'Scotland – Linlithgow,' *Scotland Before the Independence Referendum*, 2014. University of St Andrews. SAUL ID: 2014-1-123.



Figure 3.4 Colin McPherson. ‘Scotland – Edinburgh,’ *Scotland Before the Independence Referendum*, 2014. University of St Andrews. SAUL ID: 2014-1-120.



Figure 3.5 Colin McPherson. ‘Scotland – Cheviot Hills,’ *A Fine Line*, 2014. University of St Andrews. SAUL ID: 2014-1-74.



Figure 3.6 Colin McPherson. ‘Scotland – Carter Bar,’ *A Fine Line*, 2014. University of St Andrews. SAUL ID: 2014-1-71.



Figure 3.7 Stephen McLaren. ‘Oban Pipers,’ *Scotia Nova*, 2010-14. University of St Andrews. SAUL ID: 2014-1-152.



Figure 3.8 Stephen McLaren. 'Cupar Fleece,' *Scotia Nova*, 2010-14. University of St Andrews. SAUL ID: 2014-1-154.



Figure 3.9 Stephen McLaren. 'Glencoe,' *Scotia Nova*, 2010-14. University of St Andrews. SAUL ID: 2014-1-156.



Figure 3.10 Jeremy Sutton-Hibbert. ‘Horsemen arrive at the Three Brethren cairn summit,’ *Unsullied and Untarnished*, 2013. University of St Andrews. SAUL ID: 2014-1-187.



Figure 3.11 Jeremy Sutton-Hibbert. ‘Garry Ramsay, Right Hand Man,’ *Unsullied and Untarnished*, 2014. University of St Andrews. SAUL ID: 2014-1-203.



Figure 3.12 Jeremy Sutton-Hibbert. ‘The ‘Old Boys,’’ *South Ronaldsay Bous Ploughing Match and Festival of the Horse, Orkney, 2015*. University of St Andrews. SAUL ID: 2017-02-15.



Figure 3.13 Jeremy Sutton-Hibbert. ‘Imogen Scott,’ *South Ronaldsay Bous Ploughing Match and Festival of the Horse, Orkney, 2015*. University of St Andrews. SAUL ID: 2017-02-14.



Figure 3.14 Sophie Gerrard. ‘Bonny, Kate and Minty on Minty’s farm in Mull,’ *Drawn to the Land*, 2014. University of St Andrews. SAUL ID: 2014-1-39.



Figure 3.15 Sophie Gerrard. ‘Blackfaced sheep with wind turbines at Patricia Glennie’s farm, Lauder, The Scottish Borders,’ *Drawn to the Land*, 2014. University of St Andrews. SAUL ID: 2014-1-25.



Figure 3.16 Sophie Gerrard. 'Family photograph albums and history books in Minty MacKay's home, High Lee Croft, Bunessan, Isle of Mull,' *Drawn to the Land*, 2014. University of St Andrews. SAUL ID: 2014-1-42.



Figure 3.17 Sophie Gerrard. 'Sarah Boden, 4 months pregnant, Isle of Eigg,' *Drawn to the Land*, 2015. University of St Andrews. SAUL ID: 2017-2-10.



Figure 3.18 Sophie Gerrard. *Drawn to the Land*. St Andrews Photo Festival 2016 display. The Scores, St Andrews. Image writers own.

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Appendices

Appendix I: Ethical Application Approval

Dear Lydia,

Thank you for submitting your ethical application which was considered by the School of Art History Ethics Committee. The following documents were reviewed and approved:

1. Ethical Application Form

2. Participant Consent Form – I/AD

The Art History Ethics Committee has been delegated to act on behalf of the University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee (UTREC) and has granted this application ethical approval. The particulars relating to the approved project are as follows –

Approval Code:	AH13938	Date of Approval:	18-10-2018	Approval Expiry:	5 years >>>>
Project Title:	Scottish Documentary Photography in the St Andrews University Special Collections				
Researcher(s):	Lydia Heeley				
Supervisor(s):	Luke Gartlan				

Approval is awarded for five years. Projects which have not commenced within two years of approval must be re-submitted for review by your School Ethics Committee. If you are unable to complete your research within the five year approval period, you are required to write to your School Ethics Committee Convener to request a discretionary extension of no

greater than 6 months or to re-apply if directed to do so, and you should inform your School Ethics Committee when your project reaches completion.

If you make any changes to the project outlined in your approved ethical application form, you should inform your supervisor and seek advice on the ethical implications of those changes from the School Ethics Convener who may advise you to complete and submit an ethical amendment form for review.

Any adverse incident which occurs during the course of conducting your research must be reported immediately to the School Ethics Committee who will advise you on the appropriate action to be taken.

Approval is given on the understanding that you conduct your research as outlined in your application and in compliance with UTREC Guidelines and Policies (<http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/utrec/guidelinespolicies/>). You are also advised to ensure that you procure and handle your research data within the provisions of the Data Provision Act 1998 and in accordance with any conditions of funding incumbent upon you.

Yours sincerely

Dawn Waddell

On behalf of the Convener of the School Ethics Committee